

**Catholicism, community and identity in late Tudor and early  
Stuart Herefordshire**

**by**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAW	Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster
BL	British Library
BL Add	British Library, Additional manuscript(s)
BL Harleian	British Library, Harleian manuscript(s)
BL Lansdowne	British Library, Lansdowne manuscript(s)
C	The National Archives, Chancery
CP	Cecil Papers
E	The National Archives, Exchequer
EL	The Huntington Archives, Ellesmere manuscripts
ed.	Editor
edn.	Edition
HAS	Hereford Archives
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
ONDB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
prob	The National Archives, probate
SP	The National Archives, State Papers
STAC	The National Archives, Star Chamber
TNA	The National Archives

## **CONVENTIONS**

Dates: Old style dating has been retained, with the year assumed to have begun on 1 January

Spelling: Where possible, original spelling and punctuation of documents has been retained, although contractions have usually been silently expanded.

Referencing: Document references have been given where possible. Some documents have been consulted on line (State Papers online), and some only as calendar references. These are indicated in the footnotes.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to contribute to a number of local, contextualised studies which throw light on how ordinary Catholics faced the religious changes of the Reformation and on how their experiences related to broader national developments. It addresses, in a Herefordshire setting and for the period from about 1580 to just before the Civil War, several of the themes which have been pursued in recent years as part of a ‘new surge of interest’ in Catholic history - the social profile of Catholics, leadership roles taken by non-gentry Catholics, the relationship of plebeian Catholics to Catholic gentry, the varied types of Catholic community in the county, the influence of Jesuits and seminary priests, the strategies Catholics used to survive in a Protestant state, relations between Catholics and their neighbours, and the nature and importance of Catholic ritual practice.<sup>1</sup>

The trigger for the ‘new surge of interest’ in Catholic history was the publication of John Bossy’s *The English Catholic Community* in 1975.<sup>2</sup> Bossy established Reformation Catholics as a community developing specific ritual practices and worthy of academic study in their own right, overturning the views of historians such as Dickens and Elton who considered Catholicism a threat that had ended by the close of Elizabeth’s reign, and the conclusions of Aveling, who, from his work on Yorkshire, published in 1976, believed that by the late sixteenth-century most Catholics were undemonstrative gentry with household servants and tenants under their wing. Any other ‘plebeian’ Catholicism was ‘a small, amorphous thing’.<sup>3</sup> Yet fresh ground was broken in the early 1990s with Walsham’s recognition that a preoccupation with recusancy distorted understanding of Catholic Reformation history: she argued that church papistry ‘did not invariably signal a weak-kneed

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<sup>1</sup> The phrase ‘new surge of interest’ is from A. Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975).

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1967), p. 425; G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1974), pp. 309, 460; J. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe* (Essex, 1976), p. 162.



surrender of male religious initiative' but could be part of a strategy to safeguard the Roman faith, and that some Catholics, at least, were active in an underground way.<sup>4</sup> Church papists were holding on to their religious beliefs whilst maintaining a place in society.<sup>5</sup>

The stances taken by Catholics were often complex. One of the focuses of Walsham's work has been the moral dilemmas that faced people confronted with a choice between punishment for recusancy and attendance at a heretical church, and one of Questier's the concerns people might have for their spiritual health when converting from Rome (and, in some cases, back again).<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, it is the political agency of Catholics – their use of conformity and non-conformity at both national and local levels - that has most interested historians. Kaushik examined the subtle arguments against the state's ability to enforce conformity used by Sir Thomas Tresham at his 1581 Star Chamber trial when he was accused of refusing to swear on oath that he had not harboured the Jesuit Edmund Campion. Tresham protested his loyalty to the queen, but with the important caveat that one of the 'things ... proper to God ... (rather than) to Cesar' was his conscience, thus setting himself up as a leader of Catholic resistance to Protestant policies, as the authorities were well aware.<sup>7</sup> In his study of the aristocratic Browne family Questier explored the many shades of recusancy and conformity adopted by its members as they endeavoured to convince the regime that they were loyal despite their Catholic convictions.<sup>8</sup> Individual Catholics of lower status also 'manipulated the grey areas of the law'.<sup>9</sup> They might move from recusancy to church

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<sup>4</sup> A. Walsham, *Church Papists* (London, 1993), p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 80-94.

<sup>6</sup> A. Walsham, 'Yielding to the Extremity of Time: Conformity and Orthodoxy', in M. Questier and P. Lake (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 211-236; A. Walsham, 'England's Nicodemites: Crypto-Catholicism and Religious Pluralism', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventures of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 287-303; M. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> S. Kaushik, 'Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State', *Midland History*, 21 (1996), pp. 37-72, pp. 52-56.

<sup>8</sup> M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> The phrase 'manipulate the grey areas of the law' is from M. Questier, 'Conformity, Catholicism and the Law', in Questier and P. Lake (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 237-261, p. 242.

papistry to achieve influence over their local community, like Dorothy Burgoyne of Hertfordshire whose professed conformity enabled her to appoint a vicar sympathetic to her Catholic views, or for their personal advantage, like Nicholas Timperley of Suffolk in a will dispute, or to avoid stigma in their church community, like the serving-maid Elizabeth Coulson who alleged she had not ‘swallowed the sacramental wafer by reason of a ... cough’.<sup>10</sup>

Several studies have identified the operation of the politics of conformity in specific communities. Questier showed how northern Catholics, such as members of the Neville faction of county Durham, re-invented themselves in response to changing circumstances around the time of James I’s accession when the prospect of leniency made apparent conformity a more constructive tactic than recusancy.<sup>11</sup> Sheils’ analysis of Catholics in Egton, north Yorkshire, revealed a religiously conservative parish where church papists had a central and respectable place or where, at least, the rest of the community accommodated them so that they could share the burdens of parochial office.<sup>12</sup> And Oates has noted that the Catholic aldermen of Elizabethan Newcastle who attended church (some even taking the oath of supremacy) succeeded both in protecting members of their community from financial penalties and in excluding Protestants from local government.<sup>13</sup>

At root, the politics of conformity was about survival in the face of anti-Catholic legislation. Yet the decisions Catholics made had repercussions on their relationships with their neighbours, and this has too has been a significant and related theme of recent Catholic historiography. Sheils, building on the insights of social historians of early modern Europe

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 251-256; Walsham, ‘England’s Nicodemites’, p. 295.

<sup>11</sup> M. Questier, ‘The Politics of Religious Conformity and the Accession of James I’, *Historical Research*, 71 (1998), pp. 14-30, pp. 14-24.

<sup>12</sup> W. J. Sheils, ‘Getting on and getting along in parish and town: Catholics and their neighbours in England’, in B. Kaplan, B. Moore, H. F. K. Van Nierop and J. Pollman, (eds.), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 67-83, pp. 69-70; W. J. Sheils, ‘Catholics and their neighbours in a rural community: Egton chapelry 1590-1780’, *Northern History*, 34 (1998), pp. 109-133.

<sup>13</sup> R. Oates, ‘Catholicism, Conformity and the Community in the Elizabethan Diocese of Durham’, *Northern History*, 43 (2006), pp. 53-76, pp. 70-73.

and recognising that the need to co-exist was part of the deep-seated moral tradition ‘to sustain the charitable community’, put forward the notion of Catholics’ ‘getting on’ and ‘getting along’ – improving their standing in society whilst maintaining good relations with their neighbours.<sup>14</sup> At Egton, as noted, he found that senior yeoman Catholics were supported in their church papism by their non-Catholic neighbours for pragmatic reasons, but he also believed that Egton’s Catholics were ‘not separating themselves from their neighbours in their wider worldly affairs’.<sup>15</sup> His discussion of conditions in York and London from the late 1500s to the end of the seventeenth-century and at Madeley, Shropshire, after the Restoration confirmed this view: ‘when left to themselves’ Catholics and their neighbours opted to ‘get along’.<sup>16</sup> Rowlands, too, has touched on the theme of Catholic integration into society, finding evidence in late sixteenth-century West Bromwich, for example, of a yeoman Catholic who held the office of constable and witnessed the wills of his neighbours, and of Catholics in early seventeenth-century Wolverhampton who survived, in part, ‘by the connivance of their neighbours’.<sup>17</sup>

Historians have recognised, however, that ‘getting along’ did not eradicate confessional tensions. Marshall investigated the question of clandestine Catholic burials, for example, which ‘put particular pressures on neighbourly coexistence’, noting that attempts to compel Catholics to conform to Protestant burial practice occurred especially in the early years of the sixteenth-century when a separate Catholic community was emerging.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Sheils, ‘Getting on and getting along’, p. 68; N. Lewycky and A. Morton, *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England – Essays in honour of Professor W. J. Sheils*, (Farnham, 2013), pp. 4-8. See also the work of Margaret Spufford which revealed cooperation between radical Protestant groups and the conforming community, and of Derek Plumb which found evidence in wills and court records which showed that Lollards in the early sixteenth-century lived conventional lives among neighbours ‘who were well aware of their proclivities’; M. Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995); D. Plumb, ‘A gathered church? Lollards and their society’, in *ibid.*, pp 132-163, p. 162.

<sup>15</sup> Sheils, ‘Catholics and their neighbours in a rural community’, p. 119.

<sup>16</sup> Sheils, ‘Getting on and getting along in parish and town’, p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> M. Rowlands, ‘Rome’s Snaky Brood: Catholic Yeomen, Craftsmen and Townsmen in the West Midlands 1600-1641’, *Recusant History*, 24 (1998-9), pp. 147-170, p. 149; M. Rowlands, *The West Midlands from AD 1000* (Harlow, 1987), p.131.

<sup>18</sup> P. Marshall, ‘Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c. 1570-1700’, in Lewycky and Morton, *Getting Along?*, pp. 57-75, p. 75.

Walsham's work has again been significant here. She argued that early modern society did not subscribe to the twenty-first-century notion of tolerance as respecting views different from one's own, but to the Augustinian notion of 'charitable hatred': the charitable action was to root out sinful wrong-thinking about religion lest it incur divine displeasure.<sup>19</sup> The point was also argued by Milton in 1999. He described society as 'riven by inconsistencies'. The 'confessional confusion did not denote the early emergence of a pluralistic, religiously tolerant society: the semantics of tolerance were almost entirely negative'.<sup>20</sup> It was 'the very extent of compromises with confessional polarities which could at critical times translate anti-Catholicism's potential for disruption into belligerent reality'. Breakdowns in relations were rare, however, and seem to have been provoked by 'national political concerns, whether real or imagined'.<sup>21</sup> More likely to occur in towns than in rural areas, they could take a wide range of forms – sectarian literature, the use of insulting terms such as 'papist', the exultation of crowds when priests were hanged, drawn and quartered, and ritual pope-burning processions.<sup>22</sup>

Marshall has related the politics of conformity to the wider historical process of 'popular confessionalisation', seeing the 'presence of others' in the community as helping to 'sharpen ... a self-awareness of religious belonging'.<sup>23</sup> In similar vein Walsham has argued that the 'day-to-day compromises Catholics reached with their heretical enemies' contributed significantly to 'the capacity of contemporaries to countenance the presence of people with

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<sup>19</sup> A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 40-41.

<sup>20</sup> A. Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Catholicism', in A. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 85-115, p. 107.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 107.

<sup>22</sup> Sheils, 'Getting on and getting along in parish and town', p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> P. Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48, (July 2009), pp. 564-586, pp. 584-585. Marshall explained that 'popular Confessionalisation' usually 'gradually followed upon state Confessionalisation, a top-down process.' The English pattern 'seems somewhat different from this: a fair amount of popular confessionalisation preceded, accompanied, and sometimes opposed fitful attempts at state confessionalisation'.

dissenting opinions living within their vicinity' although, paradoxically, they tended at the same time to heighten the sense of difference people had about their rival creeds.<sup>24</sup>

The work of scholars on Catholic political agency and on inter-confessional relationships both relate to the dilemmas facing Catholics living in a Protestant state. A third major area of recent scholarship concerns Catholic mission. The focus has moved on from Bossy's premise of a Catholic community that effectively began with the arrival of priests from the continent in the 1570s and the subsequent debate, led by Haigh, on survivalism and the role of Marian priests: current work on mission centres on Catholicism in relation to the broad international movement for Catholic renewal.<sup>25</sup> Walsham refutes Haigh's idea that the mission to Britain was essentially pastoral.<sup>26</sup> She stresses instead the endeavours of priests to revive, transform and proselytise: the harnessing of the supernatural via miracles, exorcisms and angelic visions; the exploitation of the new print culture; the recasting of Catholic ritual life to accommodate the need for more individual devotion in the absence of a parish priest.<sup>27</sup> She writes of the 'intensity, emotion and energy' that underpinned the mission.<sup>28</sup> Lake and Questier, too, underline the 'exciting and imaginative battle' waged between imprisoned

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<sup>24</sup> Walsham, 'England's Nicodemites', p. 283.

<sup>25</sup> Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 11-15; C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 23 (1981), pp. 37-69; Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 27. The capacity of Catholicism on the continent to adapt itself to different environments has been widely explored in the work of, for example, J. Pollman, M. Foster and C. Lennon: J. Pollman, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford, 2011); M. Foster, *The Counter Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720* (London, 1992).

<sup>26</sup> Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 9; Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism', pp. 194-195.

<sup>27</sup> A. Walsham, 'Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England', *The Historical Journal*, 46 (December 2003), pp. 779-815; A. Walsham, 'Holywell and the Welsh Catholic revival', in W. Coster and A. Spice (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 209-236; A. Walsham, 'Catholic Reformation and the Cult of Angels', in A. Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 273-294; A. Walsham, 'Domme Preachers? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), pp. 72-123; A. Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and The Douai-Rheims Bible', *Journal of British Studies*, 41 (2003), pp. 141-167; A. Walsham, 'Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation', in *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), pp. 288-310; A. Walsham, 'Beads, Books and Bare Ruined Choirs: Transmutations of Catholic Ritual Life in Protestant England,' in B. Kaplan, B. Moore, H. van Nierop and J. Pollman (eds.), *Catholic communities in Protestant states c. 1570 – 1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 103-122.

<sup>28</sup> Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 31.

Protestant and Catholic priests who were winning souls in a vigorous ‘theatre of martyrdom’.<sup>29</sup>

The audience before whom these energies were expended, clearly, must have included many ordinary men and women, and their views and reactions, where these can be gleaned from the archives, are frequently cited in research articles. However, despite the recognition that ‘Catholic commoners’ made up ‘the vast majority of those named in the records’ the limitations of the sources mean that there has been relatively little work dealing specifically with non-gentry Catholics.<sup>30</sup> An early collection of essays on the theme was published in 1999 under Rowlands’ editorship. In the portion of the collection covering the period up to the Civil War, Hilton surveyed the varied extent and character of the Catholic poor in the north of England, Hodgetts addressed the question of access for servants and outsiders to priests harboured in a gentry household and identified some of the yeoman or minor gentry houses that were used for mass, and Rowlands emphasised the roles of commoners in harbouring priests, hosting mass, acting as couriers, or operating book presses. Rowlands also pieced together some of the scant evidence on Catholic lay worship, and noted that, although yeomen families could be a stable element, there were frequent shifts in Catholic congregations.<sup>31</sup> Yet each of these essays is a fairly general cataloguing of Catholics, fitting them into the broad historical background. The only detailed and contextualised contribution to the volume dealing with the period up to 1640 was Sheils’ work on the Jacobean Yorkshire recusants who were listed in an episcopal survey of 1615, from which he drew several

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<sup>29</sup> P. Lake and M. Questier, ‘Prisons, Priests and People’, in N. Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London, 1998), pp. 195-234, p. 196. To characterise the battle waged in prisons by those who were to become martyrs as ‘exciting and imaginative’ is not, of course to deny the conviction on both sides that the reason for suffering and death was doctrinal truth.

<sup>30</sup> The phrase ‘Catholic commoners’ is in M. Rowlands, ‘Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625’, in M. Rowlands (ed.), ‘Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1778,’ *Catholic Record Society* (1999), pp. 10-35, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> J. A. Hilton, ‘The Catholic Poor: Paupers and Vagabonds, 1580-1780’, in Rowlands, ‘Catholics of Parish and Town’, pp. 115-128; M. Hodgetts, ‘The Godly Garrett’, in *ibid.*, pp. 36-60; Rowlands, ‘Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625’, pp. 10-35.

important conclusions about the non-gentry 'Catholic experience', notably that they 'did not meekly follow the directives of clergy or patterns established ... for the gentry'.<sup>32</sup>

Sheils was also able to identify variation in types of Catholic community from the Yorkshire data. He distinguished areas where there were scattered households and individuals who were unlikely to be part of a Catholic community from areas where there was substantial missionary endeavour and recusancy had penetrated a significant sector of non-gentry society.<sup>33</sup> Other work on types of Catholic community includes Rowlands' comparison of Catholic communities in the West Midlands, Rowe's work on Suffolk, in which she asked how far the seigneurial household model applied, and Oates' contrast between the conforming alderman Catholics of Newcastle and the recusants of north Durham. Rowlands found very different communities across a limited area - two determined yeoman family groups of plebeian Catholics in West Bromwich, a small group dominated by gentry in Wolverhampton and a group of poorer tradesmen on the coalfield at Bilston. Rowe linked the non-gentry recusants of Hartismere deanery to an active peripatetic mission, and Oates concluded that, since both Newcastle and north Durham were mission areas, the types of Catholicism that had developed there by the end of the sixteenth-century were more strongly influenced by the areas' different histories.<sup>34</sup>

Who was non-gentry and who was gentry is not, of course, a straightforward issue. Gentleman was a term without legal basis, used by contemporaries from the late sixteenth-century onwards to describe those with wealth and leisure enough to contribute significantly

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<sup>32</sup> W. J. Sheils, 'Household, Age and Gender among Jacobean Yorkshire Recusants', in Rowlands, *Catholics of Parish and Town*, pp. 131-152, p. 135.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138, 139, 141-2.

<sup>34</sup> Rowlands, 'Rome's Snaky Brood'; J. Rowe, 'The Lopped Tree: the re-formation of the Suffolk Catholic community', in N. Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (Chippenham, 1998), pp. 167-191; Oates, 'Catholicism, Conformity and the Community in the Elizabethan Diocese of Durham'.

to the government of the ‘common weal’.<sup>35</sup> Gentry at the very top of the county hierarchy are easy to distinguish. In Herefordshire there were no resident peers, but three families, none of their leading members Catholics, the Crofts of Croft Castle, the Scudamores of Holme Lacy and the Coningsbys of Hampton Court, held positions at court in the Elizabethan period and, between them, represented the county in Parliament between 1559 and 1621.<sup>36</sup> In the 1620s and 1630s the Puritan Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan assumed particular prominence.<sup>37</sup> Below these people were the men who ran the shire, the deputy lieutenants, sheriffs and Justices of the Peace. McParlin calculated that there were about forty such squirearchical families in Herefordshire in the early Stuart period, some serving in the Commission for the Peace, some temporarily inactive because heads of families were minors, some absent because of their overt Catholicism.<sup>38</sup> Below them were the more numerous ‘parish gentry’, the ‘non-noble landowners with some claim to exercise lordship or jurisdiction’, perhaps as lord of the manor or high constable, but whose claims, if not acknowledged by the local community, might founder.<sup>39</sup> In practice, these individuals were on the gentry/plebeian divide and there can be a fair amount of ambiguity around them in the records where they are referred to as ‘gentleman’ on some occasions and as ‘yeoman’ on others. The rule followed here when there is ambiguity is to accept the most frequent designation, especially if this is the title clearly given by the local community, but to footnote the marginality of that individual’s status. Sometimes the change appears to reflect upward mobility. Thomas ap Pricharde of Abbey Dore, for example, stands in the records as a yeoman in 1605 and as a

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<sup>35</sup> J. S. Morrill, ‘Gentry and the Great Rebellion’, *Northern History*, 15 (1979), pp. 66-87, pp. 69-74.

<sup>36</sup> W. Tighe, ‘Courtiers and Politics in Elizabethan Herefordshire: Sir James Croft, His Friends and His Foes’, *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), pp. 257-279.

<sup>37</sup> J. Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads* (Glasgow, 2002), pp. 70-99.

<sup>38</sup> G. E. McParlin, *The Herefordshire Gentry in County Government* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, 1981), pp. 18-24.

<sup>39</sup> F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 7, 17-19. McParlin thought there were at least four times as many parish gentry as county gentry in Herefordshire; McParlin, *The Herefordshire Gentry in County Government*, pp. 18-24.



gentleman from around 1625.<sup>40</sup> Other instances are less clear. Richard Powell of Kilpeck, despite being called ‘gentleman’ by Bishop Westfaling in a list of recusants made in 1600, was more often (though not always) referred to as ‘yeoman’ by the churchwardens who presented him to the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>41</sup>

Neither is the identification of individuals as ‘Catholic’ without problems. When the label ‘recusant’ has been given in contemporary sources, however, this has been taken as unambiguous: Herefordshire was a conservative county where non-conforming Puritanism was uncommon. In 1576 Bishop John Scory claimed to have nipped some Puritan ‘prophesyings’ in the bud, but he admitted that these had not amounted to much ‘for want of ... preachers’.<sup>42</sup> Rowland Vaughan complained that preachers were still scarce at the start of James I’s reign, and, despite Bishop Robert Bennet’s attempts to sponsor evangelical activity and the work of Sir Robert Harley and the vicar he appointed, Thomas Pierson, ‘zealous Puritan worship’ existed only in the Leintwardine area in the north of the county by the 1620s, there were still a mere twenty ‘conscionable’ preachers in Herefordshire by 1642.<sup>43</sup>

Yet the religious allegiance of many presented to the ecclesiastical courts for not frequenting church or not receiving the communion was not necessarily as straightforward as this. Particularly problematic are those who appeared just once for these offences. Haigh argued from his extensive reading of ecclesiastical court records that although ‘almost everyone knew they should go to church, and, indeed wanted to ... other things might crop up

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<sup>40</sup> Hereford Archives (henceforth HAS) HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605- 1606; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626. There are no folio numbers in any of the archidiaconal court volumes. Richard Powell, identifiable as the same man as he was presented with his wife Margaret on both occasions, was ‘yeoman’ in 1605, for example; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>41</sup> Huntington Archives, Los Angeles, EL 2165, Bishop Westfaling 1600 (unnumbered).

<sup>42</sup> A. Pettegree, ‘Scory, John (d. 1585)’, *ONDB*, (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>43</sup> W. Richardson, ‘Bennet, Robert (d. 1617)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, pp. 54-56; Hereford Cathedral Archives (henceforth HCA) 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642, from Michael Faraday’s transcript of Portland MSS Harley Papers Loan 29/173. Bennet was ‘prominent among the Jacobean episcopate in sponsoring evangelical activity ... and in tackling low clerical standards’; he ousted absentee ministers, licensed curates in person, and set up a training programme in 1614-5; Pierson was appointed rector of Brampton Bryan by ‘the staunch Puritan Sir Robert Harley’ in 1612 and ‘took the lead in evangelizing an area that had not yet been touched by puritan clerical zeal’. Tombes preached weekly lectures at Leominster throughout the 1630s.

– an invitation not to be missed ... work to be completed on a Sunday, a round of drinks not finished, or a game that got exciting’.<sup>44</sup> This may have been true for some, but bishops provided churchwardens with copies of visitation articles which made their intentions clear, and it seems unlikely that churchwardens would confuse someone who had not attended church because he was drinking with someone who did not ‘usually resort to divine service upon Sundays ... and receive the holy communion chiefly at Easter’.<sup>45</sup> Although most of those absent from church or not in receipt of the communion were recorded without comment, Herefordshire’s churchwardens were apparently at pains to tell the court when an absence was not related to an individual’s ‘popish inclinations’. They knew that the presentment bills which they submitted would be scrutinised by court officials and ‘weeded of irrelevancies’ before people were summoned to court and thus seem to have been concerned to detect and discourage genuine religious offenders.<sup>46</sup> The churchwardens at Bodenham, for example, explained in 1582 that Elizabeth Dervalt had not received the communion ‘because she is a common sclanderer [sic]’; William Tomes of Brampton Abbotts was said not to have attended church in 1609 ‘because he was abroad and then when he was at home he was sick’; Alice Chaunce of Pipe ‘could not come’ in 1621 ‘because of the impotencie of her bodie’, and the churchwardens in the south Herefordshire parish of Madley were careful to separate from their list of recusants in 1625 their presentment of Edward Foote of Le Bache for not receiving the communion or frequenting church because he was ‘immoderate drunk and a brawler, scoulder and abuser of his neighbours’.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> C. Haigh, *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven* (Oxford, 2007), p. 221.

<sup>45</sup> M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 45. Bancroft’s 1605 article 10, used in Herefordshire, referred to ‘persons who lurked and tipled in taverns or alehouses on Sundays’, but article 59 asked ‘whether all persons ... usually resort to heare divine service upon Sundays ... and receive the holy communion chiefly at Easter’; K. Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, I*, (Church of England Record Society) (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 7, 11-12.

<sup>46</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 45. See also chapter two for more about the reliability of churchwardens’ presentments.

<sup>47</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD7/5/4, Bishop’s Visitation 1582; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1609; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court, 1618-1629. There are no folio numbers in any of the dean’s court volumes.

Foote's delinquency seems straightforward, but sometimes further information available in the records hints that the individuals making such excuses were disguising their Catholic allegiance, and it is a moot point whether the churchwardens were themselves aware of this. In Alice Chaunce's case, while her 'impotencie' may have been real (she died in 1625), she was also indicted in 1621 for not sending her children to be catechised, and, suspiciously, a John Chaunce – perhaps one of the children – was presented for not receiving holy communion in 1626.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, it is possible to suspect Elizabeth Dervalt of Catholic sympathies because a few months after she had been labelled a common slanderer she was presented again to the courts for not being churched. Her daughter Anne, too, was presented because she had 'had a child at Christmas and was not yet purified'.<sup>49</sup> In 1614 John Corbett of Avenbury made another type of excuse for not receiving the communion which may have been an attempt to disguise Catholicism, declaring that he was not 'in love and charitie' with his neighbours.<sup>50</sup> Yet Catholics – even those who could countenance attending services – were more likely to find communion a 'theological sticking point' than Protestants for whom participation in the eucharist service was an important symbol of neighbourly charity and for whom the very celebration would have been an important motivator for reconciliation.<sup>51</sup>

The rule followed here, then, is to exclude as Catholic people whose absence from church was linked to drunkenness and brawling but to include those for whom other excuses were made: given the vigilance of the courts and the likelihood that at least some of the excuses were designed to hide religious allegiance, this probably does not greatly distort the overall picture of Catholicism in the county.

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<sup>48</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-1629.

<sup>49</sup> HAS HD7/5/4, Bishop's visitation 1582. Catholic women might refuse to be churched after childbirth because it was a ceremony conducted 'according to the book of common prayer'; 'The Visitation articles of Archbishop Richard Bancroft, 1605', Fincham, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> HAS HD4/1/173, Acts of Office 1614.

<sup>51</sup> I am grateful to Howard Barlow for pointing to the following two references: J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 259; A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 161 (1998), pp. 39-83, 51-60.

The situation of those who were presented to the church courts more than once is usually more obvious. Richard and Catherine Brampton of Tibberton were never named as recusants, yet the very frequency of their presentment for Catholic offences (in this case at every court for which records survive between 1598 and 1628) puts their allegiance beyond doubt.<sup>52</sup> Additional records may also reveal an individual's Catholic commitment. Thomas Farley of Bosbury in Frome deanery, for example, who did not attend church (1602), and did not receive the communion (1605), was also a close associate of recusant gentleman William Unett, 'entertained' by him in 1605 and part of a group involved with him in an affray when a fellow Catholic was put in the stocks.<sup>53</sup> It should be noted too that people identified as recusants at some point in the records were almost always presented on other occasions for non-attendance or not receiving the communion. Thus, Mary Nichols of Hope-under-Dinmore was a recusant in 1609, did not receive the communion in 1611, and 'did not frequent church' in 1613.<sup>54</sup>

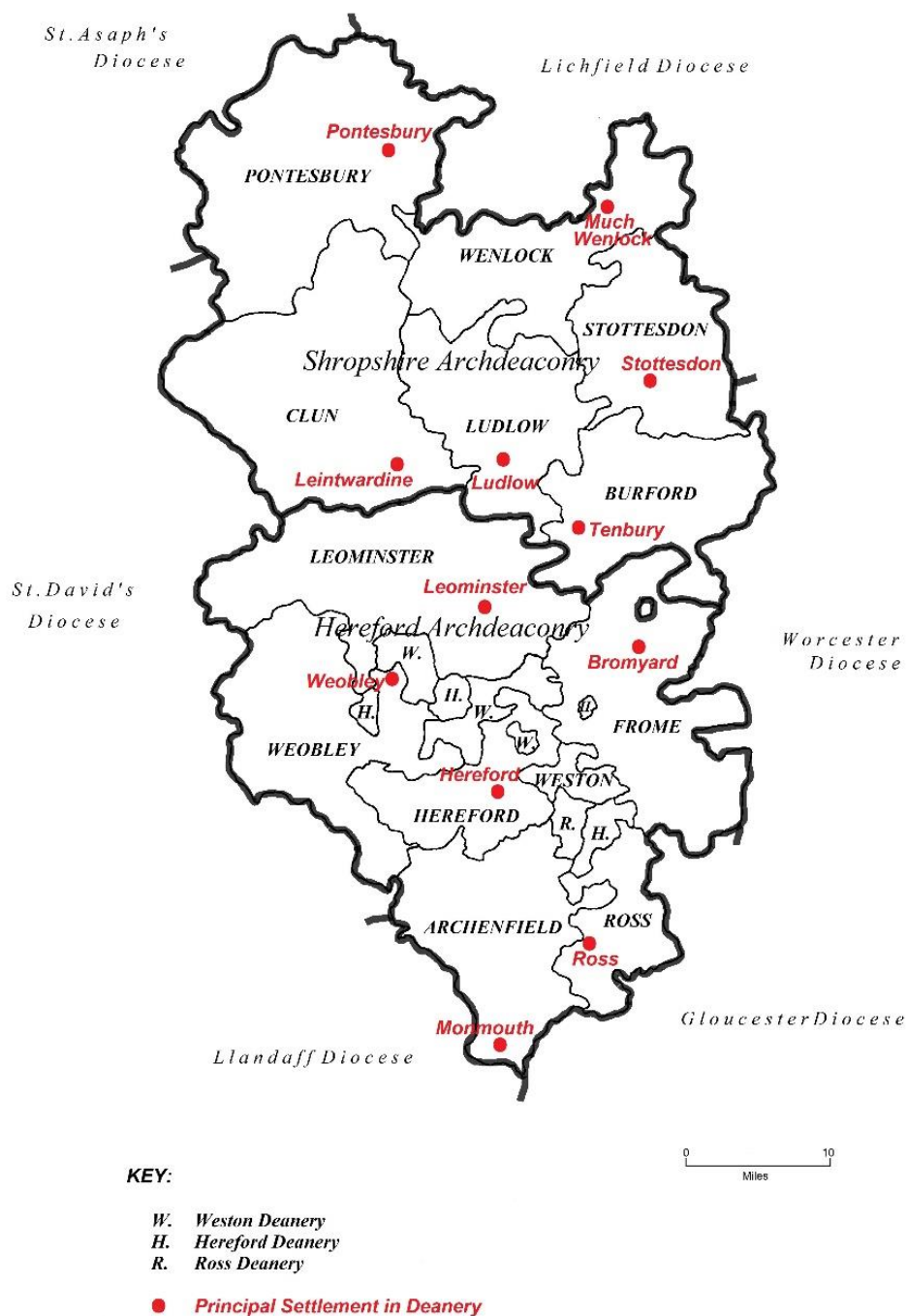
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<sup>52</sup> HCA 4813, Dean's Recusancy Inquisition Returns 1595; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-1629.

<sup>53</sup> HAS HD4/1/160, Acts of Office 1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; The National Archives, (henceforth TNA) STAC 8/53/21, Unett, Bartley v. Tyler May 1606.

<sup>54</sup> HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609; HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612; HAS HD4/1/171 Acts of Office 1613-1614.

MAP I: The deaneries of the Hereford diocese<sup>55</sup>



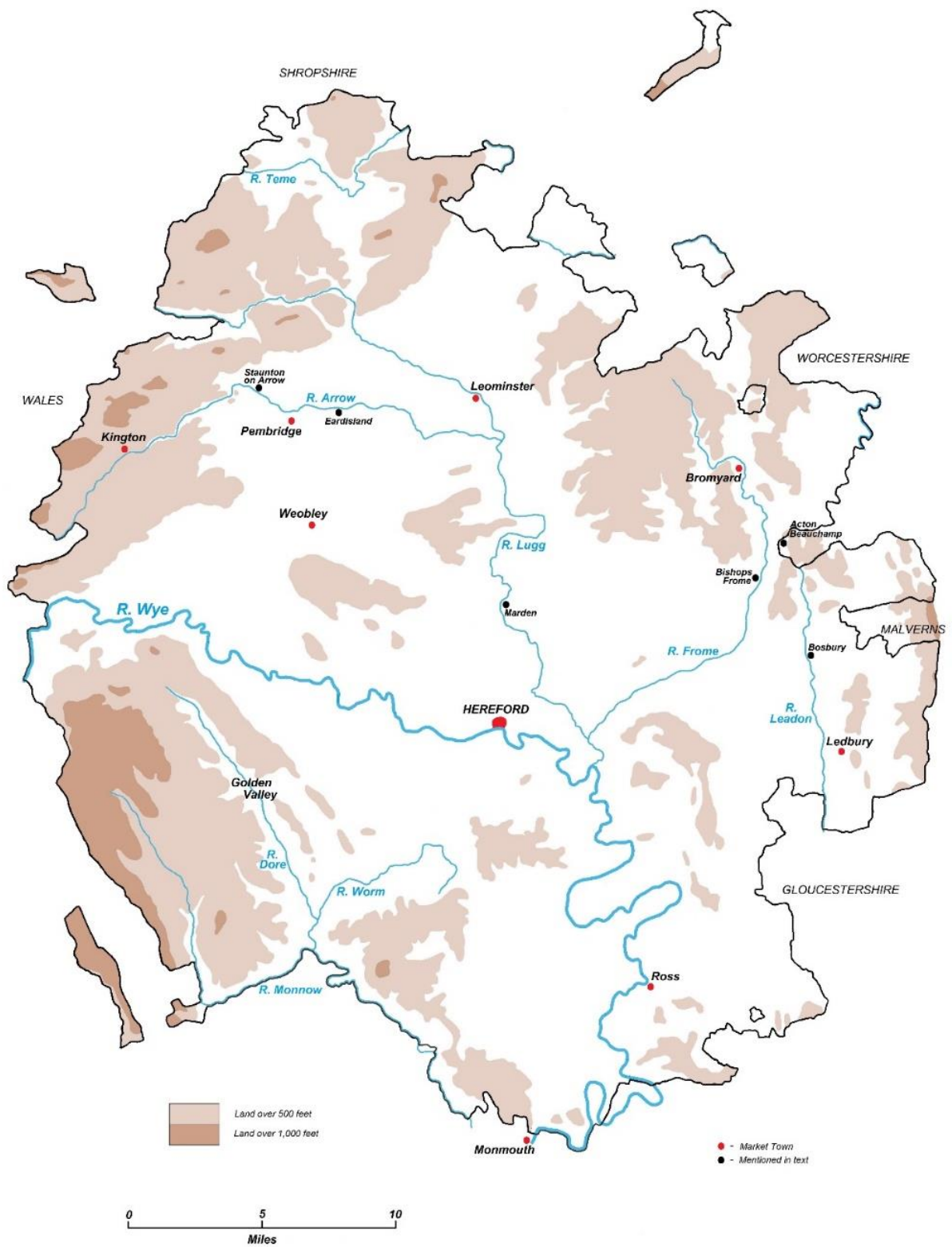
<sup>55</sup> The map is based on M.A. Faraday, *Calendar of Probate and Administration Acts 1407-1550 in the consistory court of the Bishops of Hereford* (Almeley, 2008), p. xxx.

This study relies heavily on the ecclesiastical court records of the Hereford diocese which, in the early modern period, was made up of eleven deaneries. Four of the deaneries, Pontesbury, Wenlock, Stottesdon and Burford, were in the county of Shropshire. Ludlow and Clun deaneries were also mainly in Shropshire but included a handful of Herefordshire parishes – Richard’s Castle and Little Hereford in the Ludlow deanery and Brampton Bryan, Leintwardine, Downton, Burrington and Aston in the Clun deanery. These Shropshire deanery Acts of Office volumes have not been examined, however, and the seven parishes have been excluded here. Parishes in Ewias, in the south of the county were administered by the diocese of St David’s and have also been excluded.<sup>56</sup> This leaves seven Hereford diocese deaneries: Leominster, Frome, Weston, Weobley, Hereford, Archenfield and Ross. These almost, although not completely, correspond to the county of Herefordshire and have therefore been referred to as ‘Herefordshire’ throughout.

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<sup>56</sup> There are no ecclesiastical court records for St David’s diocese.

*MAP II: The geography of Herefordshire*



Like many of England's counties Herefordshire has geographical unity, being centred almost completely around one river catchment area and more or less surrounded by upland terrain. Some of the high land is poor farming country, notably in the south and in the countryside adjoining the valley of the River Dore, known as the 'Golden Valley', where the hills are steep-sided and climb quickly from 600 to 800 feet and in some places to well over 1000 feet. Rainfall here is high, the soils are thin and tend to be acid and thus generally poor.<sup>57</sup> Thus, in 1675 Thomas Blount described the soil at Welsh Newton, near Monmouth, as so barren that the people were obliged to live on turnips, and around the same time Henry Milburne wrote of 'sandy Archenfield ... until about 1648 ... the barrenest part of Herefordshire before the use of Liming was known'.<sup>58</sup> There were still said to be over 20,000 acres of waste 'especially above the Golden Valley' in 1794.<sup>59</sup> The central area, the basin of the river Wye with its tributaries the Lugg, the Arrow, and the Frome, on the other hand, was a more prosperous region in early modern times. Here were the floodplains with their 'gay and gallant meadows' described by William Camden in the early seventeenth-century, ample grazing for herds of cattle and the watermills where the corn grown on Herefordshire's loam soils was taken to be ground to flour.<sup>60</sup> The deep loam soils, widespread over Old Red Sandstone formations, were frequently commented on by contemporaries for the excellence of their crops – the 'goodly corne-grownd' noted by Leland in 1536; the 'fertyle arable' lauded by Blount over a century later.<sup>61</sup> In 1597 Thomas Coningsby went so far as to declare

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<sup>57</sup> D. Mackney and C. P. Burnham, *The Soils of the West Midlands*, Soil Survey of Great Britain, Bulletin Number 2 (Harpden, 1964), pp. 13-16.

<sup>58</sup> N. C. Reeves (translator and editor) and R. Botzam and C. Botzam, (transcribers and researchers), *The 1675 Thomas Blount Manuscript History of Herefordshire* (no publication place or date), p. 41; F. V. Emery, 'English Regional Studies from Aubrey to Defoe', *The Geographical Journal*, 124 (1958), pp. 315-325, p. 316.

<sup>59</sup> *The Victoria County History, Herefordshire I* (London, 1908), p. 410.

<sup>60</sup> Camden is cited in J. N. Jackson, 'Some Observations upon the Herefordshire Environment of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club*, 1958-60, pp. 28-41, p. 28. Archaeologists have found extensive remains of water meadows in these valleys, evidence of the careful management for the fattening of stock, as well as the remains of mills, leats and weirs; at the end of the seventeenth-century there were sixteen mills between Hampton Bishop and Leominster and another twenty-five between Monington and Fownhope; K. Ray, *The Archaeology of Herefordshire: An Exploration* (Almeley, 2015), pp. 357-8.

<sup>61</sup> Leland is cited in Jackson, 'Some Observations upon the Herefordshire Environment', p. 28; Reeves *The 1675 Thomas Blount Manuscript History of Herefordshire*, p. 55.



that Herefordshire, along with the adjoining counties of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, could have provided ‘barnes (of) Corne for the whole realm’.<sup>62</sup> Zeal for land improvement, noted by Thirsk in leases at Bishops Frome where the proper manuring of the land was insisted on, led to the enclosure of land for crops.<sup>63</sup> The recusant yeoman Henry Mutlowe of Bosbury, north of Ledbury, for example, had a ‘close called Nightingales’, an enclosure which he ‘had tilled and sown ... with barley’ in 1606.<sup>64</sup> A comparison of deeds dating from 1590 with a rental of 1649 for the parish of Marden, just north of Hereford, suggests that, at the earlier date, most of the land lay in open fields but that by 1649 nearly half of this area was enclosed and held by just sixteen tenants, and the land in the parish of Eardisland, near Pembridge, was also largely enclosed by 1639. Significantly, ‘most of the owners styled themselves gentleman’.<sup>65</sup>

The suitability of the ‘varied and undulating land’ between the broad river valleys for raising sheep on wood-pasture also contributed to the profitability of farming in the central area of Herefordshire.<sup>66</sup> The high price of wool was an incentive for the ‘capable’ yeomen and husbandmen of the county to make enclosures for sheep near settlements.<sup>67</sup> These small, enclosed pastures kept the pasture in good health by making it possible to move the animals from close to close. Pratt’s work on a 1594 manorial survey of Acton Beauchamp indicated extensive enclosure for sheep farming, for example, and Roseff’s wider study found a similar pattern of enclosure ‘in some parishes’ in the Leominster area by the beginning of the

<sup>62</sup> Coningsby is cited in P. Williams, *Bromyard, Minster, Manor and Town* (published by the author, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> National Library of Wales, ‘Kentchurch Court Collection 320’, cited in J. Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1640–1750* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 100.

<sup>64</sup> TNA STAC 8/53/21, Bartley v. Tyler May 1606.

<sup>65</sup> R. Roseff, ‘Hedgerows and Enclosure in Central Herefordshire’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ Field Club*, 51 (2003), pp. 58–64, p. 60; N. C. Reeves, *The Leon Valley: Three Herefordshire Villages* (London, 1980), p. 134.

<sup>66</sup> M. E. Broughton, ‘Herefordshire’, in L. Dudley Stamp, *The Land of Britain: Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain* (London, 1941), pp. 79–119. Ray commented that modern Herefordshire has many areas of woodland that ‘show characteristics indicative of having grown up in more open conditions’. That is, less dense woodland with widely spaced older trees and an undercover of scrub and rough-grazing grassland, a landscape which could be used simultaneously for woodland trees and grazing, K. Ray, *The Archaeology of Herefordshire*, p. 341.

<sup>67</sup> *Victoria County History, Herefordshire* (1908), p. 408. The term ‘capable’ is used by Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 301.

sixteenth-century.<sup>68</sup> In Staunton on Arrow, to the west of Leominster, two yeomen had made ‘closes’ which the Catholic Mr James Rodd and his recusant mother Barbara were accused of breaking up ‘with shovels, spades and other instruments’, so that the animals ‘spilled out onto the common fields to the number of at least 40’.<sup>69</sup> By the mid sixteenth- and into the early seventeenth-century several of Herefordshire’s market towns were benefitting from the wool trade. Thus, in 1559 James Tomkyns of Weobley was given a licence to export seventy samples of wool, each containing three sacks, to foreign lands beyond ‘les straightes of Marrocke’ (Morocco), Bromyard had a market place for sheep in Cruxwall Street, and by 1608 Ledbury’s cloth-making industry was prospering.<sup>70</sup> Leominster was at the height of its wool fame in 1605: ‘Lemstre Ore they calle it ... which all Europe counteth to be the best’, was Camden’s comment.<sup>71</sup>

Despite this potential, however, none of Herefordshire’s market towns had more than 1,000 inhabitants in the late sixteenth-century.<sup>72</sup> They suffered from distance from the rapidly growing population and markets of London. Most of Herefordshire’s trade was local: indeed, Joan Thirsk has characterised the county as ‘a backwater’ in 1600. Its county town, Hereford, was one of the lesser cathedral cities with just four parishes inside the walls and two located immediately outside the city gates.<sup>73</sup> Whilst the cloth trade flourished in Shrewsbury, the county town of Shropshire to the north, thanks to wealthy drapers such as

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<sup>68</sup> Roseff, ‘Hedgerows and Enclosure in Central Herefordshire’, p. 61; C. W. M. Pratt, ‘An Interpretation of a Tudor Manorial Survey of Acton Beauchamp’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ Field Club*, 50, (2001), pp. 184-223, p. 220. Acton Beauchamp is in low hill country above the upper reaches of the river Frome.

<sup>69</sup> TNA STAC 8/234/7, Rodd v. Peplowe 1609. Barbara Rodd was a recusant at Staunton-on-Arrow from 1605 to 1614, and James Rodd was presented for not receiving communion in 1605 and 1614; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>70</sup> A. E. W. Salt, *The Manor and Borough of Weobley* (Hereford, 1953), p. 78; Williams, *Bromyard, Minster, Manor and Town*, p. 12; J. Hillaby, *The Book of Ledbury* (Buckingham, 1982), pp. 95-96; S. Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town and its Tudor heritage* (London, 2009), p. 37.

<sup>71</sup> Cited in G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster* (Leominster, 1845), p. 85.

<sup>72</sup> A. Dyer, ‘Small market towns 1540-1700’, in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 93-110, pp. 96-99.

<sup>73</sup> Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 159; P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 9, 31; E. Pitman, *The Parish that Disappeared: a History of St John’s, Hereford* (Almeley, 2016), p. 2.

the Protestant Mynton family who also owned houses in London, in Hereford the manufacturing and marketing of wool was shifting to the countryside by the end of the fifteenth-century, where it was free of guild regulations.<sup>74</sup> In the early 1500s Hereford was on a list of government towns ‘in need of re-edification’, and in 1527 Henry VIII had summarily closed Hereford’s two fulling mills.<sup>75</sup> The economy never recovered: the loss of trade and consequent poverty in the city are well documented.<sup>76</sup> There were not even good communications via the River Wye. Rapids, weirs and significant seasonal variations of depth meant that the Wye was not viable as a commercial waterway despite running conveniently through the middle of the county and eventually leaving only a few miles from the sea at Monmouth. Many schemes were put forward in this period to make the river navigable, particularly by reducing the number of weirs, but none was successful.<sup>77</sup> The high land which encircles Herefordshire further contributed to the county’s isolation as it meant there were no easy routes to the Midlands or into Wales.<sup>78</sup> The uplands in the south run on up along the Welsh border; wooded ridges cut off neighbouring Shropshire in the north, and to the east the steep-sided Malvern Hills form a barrier with Worcestershire broken only by the valleys of the Frome and the Leadon. This geography, coupled with the distance from London and the south-east where early popular Protestantism was strongest, has been acknowledged by contemporaries and modern historians alike to have contributed to the religious conservatism and lingering of Catholicism in Herefordshire.<sup>79</sup> It was these poor and

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<sup>74</sup> B. Coulton, ‘The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town: a Study of Shrewsbury in the Sixteenth Century’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), pp. 307-335, p. 309; R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (London, 1868), pp. 87-8, 123-126.

<sup>75</sup> A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1924), pp. 113-114.

<sup>76</sup> J. P. Dwyer, Regulation in an Age of Reformation, Hereford 1470-1610 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Colorado, 2001), p. 275; R. Tittler, *The Reformation and the towns in England c. 1540-1649* (Oxford, 1998), p. 35

<sup>77</sup> McParlin, *The Herefordshire Gentry in County Government*, pp. 6-7; Jackson, ‘Some Observations upon the Herefordshire Environment of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries’, p. 38.

<sup>78</sup> Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 159.

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 37; D. MacCulloch, ‘Worcester: a Cathedral City in the Reformation’, in P. Collinson and J. Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640* (London, 1998) pp. 94-112, p. 99; Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, pp. 61-66; M. Moir, Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Herefordshire (unpublished M. Phil. Thesis,

remote places that Preston had in mind when he asked in his sermon to the House of Commons in 1625, ‘where doth popery abound so much as in the dark places of the kingdom?’<sup>80</sup>

The sources for this thesis fall into four groups. The Catholic ‘Whitsun riots’, which took place in the south-west of the county in 1605, are documented in a pamphlet by Thomas Hamond, ‘The Late Commotion’, an examination in the Tower of London of minor gentleman William Morgan by William Waad, and in various letters and reports. The most informative letters and reports are those from the Earl of Worcester and from the Bishop of Hereford and his assistant, Paul Delahay, to the Earl of Salisbury, which include listings of names and examinations of participators in the riots and witnesses to events. There are also a number of other letters that touch on the riots – from Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate of Venice, from Popham to the Earl of Salisbury, and from ‘G.D.’ to his kinsman Everard Digby. Each of these sources is of course biased in some way: Hamond’s writing is overt Protestant propaganda, and all the letter-writers have their own axe to grind. The bishop, in particular, was aggrieved and likely to be deliberately overstating his case, while Worcester’s letter reveals understatement. The witnesses also had their own agendas and some of their words are apparent in the records, but, unfortunately, the surviving examinations are abbreviated versions, mediated by parties hostile to the examinees, and not complete verbatim depositions.<sup>81</sup>

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University of Leicester, 1984), p. 4; H. Thomas, *A great number of popish books: a study of the Welsh Jesuit missionary library of the College of St Francis Xavier, c.1600-1679* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Swansea, 2014), p. 34, and TNA MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury, Part I, 1064, ff. 9a-15a, 9b, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564*, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), pp. 11-23, p. 14.

<sup>80</sup> J. E. C. Hill, ‘Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land’, *Transactions of the Royal History Society* 13 (1963), pp. 77-102, p. 83; J. Preston, *The fulnesse of Christ for us A sermon preached at the court before King James of blessed memory. By John Preston, Dr. in Divinity, chaplaine in ordinary to his Majesty, master of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge, and sometimes preacher of Lincolnes Inne* (London, 1640), Early English Books Online, <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

<sup>81</sup> References for the Whitsun riots are given in chapter one.

The second group of sources consists of a range of court records. There is a good set of ecclesiastical court records, running with only a few breaks from 1558 to 1638 for most of the diocese.<sup>82</sup> These records are crucial for the names of recusants, those who refused the communion and those who neglected attendance at church. They are also useful for information about such incidents as recusant burials and christenings and for little details, such as that about a church papist and his ‘man’ who disturbed a christening and later attacked the vicar at court.<sup>83</sup> The ecclesiastical courts, however, cannot be assumed to have made comprehensive records of Catholics: they may be limited because of administrative inefficiencies and political exigency, as well as those presenting cases from their parishes having good reasons for not naming their neighbours. The Exchequer Pipe Rolls and Recusant Rolls include lists of Herefordshire recusants from 1581 to 1639 and sometimes give details of land ownership, but their usefulness for a study of plebeian Catholics is restricted by their focus on those judged able to pay the high fines.<sup>84</sup> Those named in the rolls were identified by secular authorities in a separate process from the church courts. The former were presented to the Exchequer by the sheriff and had probably first been called before the Quarter Session courts. Unfortunately no Assize files survive for Herefordshire. There are, however, nearly thirty useful Star Chamber cases, a few manor court rolls and a handful of depositions from Hereford sessions.<sup>85</sup> While the manor court rolls reveal a little about the status and property worries of individual Catholics, the few Herefordshire civil court cases and, in particular, the Star Chamber cases, despite formulaic language and

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<sup>82</sup> Most parishes in the Hereford diocese came under the jurisdiction of the archidiaconal court, with surviving Acts of Office books from 1558 to 1589 and from 1595 to 1638; thirty-four parishes came under the jurisdiction of the dean, with surviving Consistory Court books from 1592-1595, 1608-1613 and 1618-1629. There is also a bishop’s court book for 1573 to 1578. A complete list of the ecclesiastical court books is given as Appendix I.

<sup>83</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613.

<sup>84</sup> TNA E 376 series of recusant rolls; the Pipe rolls were reproduced by H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 2* (1593-4), an abstract in English by Hugh Bowler, *Catholic Record Society*, 57 (1965); H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 3* (1594-1595) and *Recusant Roll No. 4* (1594-1596), an abstract in English by Hugh Bowler, *Catholic Record Society*, 61 (1970).

<sup>85</sup> Star Chamber and manor court rolls references appear in the relevant chapters; the only secular court records are minimal listings at HAS BG11/5/28, 1611-1619, and a handful of cases in HAS HD4/2/17, *Loose Depositions*.

exaggeration, are a rich source of information about relationships, both between Catholics and between Catholics and their neighbours. Details of court cases from the Council in the Marches do not survive but there are books which list names and types of case and books of fines from 1617 to 1632, and from 1632 to 1642.<sup>86</sup> Parishes are sometimes mentioned and therefore inform about disputes between neighbours. A small number of property cases give similar information.<sup>87</sup>

Wills are a third and potentially fruitful source of information: they may give clues about religious allegiance, inform about possessions and about family, close friends and those trusted by the testator. Their survival is patchy, however: although some wealthier Herefordshire Catholics deposited wills with the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the Herefordshire Archives collection is limited, and there are none at all for the Hereford deanery.<sup>88</sup> Poorer Catholics are excluded as they rarely left wills. Notes of the fourth, miscellaneous, group of sources appear in the footnotes for each chapter. They have been consulted for detail about the status of individual Catholics, detail about Herefordshire or concerns at local and national level, and include such items as letters from Catholic priests, letters to and from the Privy Council, various lay subsidies which list the higher tax payers in a community, the names of gentry who made excuses for not contributing to patriotic national funds (such as Charles I's coronation), some additional episcopal records, an Easter book for Ledbury, a survey of the Bishop of Hereford's estates, parish registers, a letter reporting a mass at Garway, and a late seventeenth-century map of the Darren, a house on the Monmouthshire border where masses were held.<sup>89</sup> Churchwardens' accounts survive for

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<sup>86</sup> The British Library (henceforth BL) Harl MSS 4220 and Huntington Archives, EL 7564 - 7601.

<sup>87</sup> For example, a dispute of 1637 included recusant witnesses local to the Whitsun riots area, HCA 5168, The Delahay dispute, 1637.

<sup>88</sup> TNA prob/11; Herefordshire wills are variously catalogued – see bibliography and footnotes.

<sup>89</sup> Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster (henceforth AAW), Series A and B; State Papers Domestic; TNA E 179, the lay subsidy series; BL Harley Papers: MSS Add 70001 – 70051, Scudamore Papers; BL Hargrave MS 193; HCA 6450/5, The Register of Bishop Westfaling 1587; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register 1609-1626; HAS AA59/A/2, Butterfield's Survey of the Bishoprick Estates 1577-1581; HAS X26,

several parishes, and those of Madley, a parish just south of Hereford city, which run from 1564 to 1642, are especially informative about the status of parishioners and the activities and concerns of the church community.<sup>90</sup>

Each of the chapters in this thesis is informed in part by the records of Herefordshire's Whitsun riots of 1605, but, as the events of the riots themselves provide unique insights into the beliefs and attitudes of 'ordinary papists' at that time - something that is notoriously difficult to probe for the early modern period – the riots have been analysed first in chapter one.<sup>91</sup> Chapter two then considers the reliability of Herefordshire's ecclesiastical court records as a source and whether these reflect any significant changes in the presentment of Catholics over the period in question. Chapters three to five relate to the key themes in current Catholic historiography outlined above. Thus, chapter three examines the various types of Catholicism in the county - the distribution and character of Catholicism in the rural parishes of Herefordshire, and the profile of Catholic recusancy in Herefordshire's towns. Chapter four looks at strategies for survival and how Catholics were 'getting along' with their neighbours, with particular reference to Madley. Chapter five considers the evidence for the ritual practices of non-gentry Catholics in the southern deaneries of the Hereford diocese and what information this can give about the impact of mission.

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Ledbury Easter Book 1595-1607; Lambeth Palace, MS 3470; HAS N87/1/LCD2464, Survey of the Darren by Thomas Croft 1698.

<sup>90</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book (unnumbered).

<sup>91</sup> Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways*, p. 12, 184-5.

## CHAPTER ONE: THE HEREFORDSHIRE WHITSUN RIOTS OF 1605

The only detailed account of the Herefordshire Whitsun riots of 1605 is that written in the early 1960s by Roland Mathias. Mathias looked closely at the role of gentry, and was particularly concerned to establish the identity of Mr William Morgan of Treville, but his overall account is frequently difficult to follow and was not fully referenced.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent mentions in the historiography have been brief, the riots noted as an instance of local Catholic disturbance around the time of James I's accession, or the rituals at the recusant burial which triggered events cited as an example of Catholic funeral practice.<sup>2</sup> Yet a close look at the records reveals much more of interest. Although, in the end, the troubles did not amount to a great deal – in addition to the illicit burial they consisted only of three ambushes, two of which were unsuccessful, and of one definite escape from arrest – the records show that many of the rioters were defiant and politically aware plebeians who took initiatives of their own and were not conspicuously led by the gentry of Mathias' focus.<sup>3</sup> Emboldened by hopes of a toleration for their faith, as well as by rumours of plans to force the issue by toppling the king, the rioters followed a path of escalating pressure for liberty of conscience, in line with the pattern of plebeian 'negotiation with authority' described by Walter in the context of economic riots, and they succeeded in causing significant alarm to James and his Privy Council.<sup>4</sup> The way in which they were subdued is also worth noting, as it reveals the 'inhibiting structures of social inequality' of early modern times emphasised by Wood, but also suggests that Walter's

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<sup>1</sup> R. Mathias, *Whitsun Riot: An account of a commotion amongst Catholics in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire in 1605* (London, 1963). Mathias favoured William Morgan of Llantarnam, son of Sir Edward Morgan and son-in-law to the Earl of Worcester but it is much more probable that William Morgan of Treville was a young cousin of Sir Charles Morgan JP, of Treville; Mathias, *Whitsun Riot*, pp 78-86, but see chapter three p. 134 and footnote 107.

<sup>2</sup> Rowlands, 'Hidden People', p. 24; A. W. R. E. Okines, 'Why was there so little Government reaction to the Gunpowder Plot?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), pp. 275-291, p. 284; Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community', p. 66; Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 386; G. Williams, *Wales and Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> Leadership roles are also discussed in chapter three.

<sup>4</sup> J. Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics in early modern England* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 10-11, 196-217.



conceptualisation of the contemporary discourse of rule, in which government response to popular grievance was to return power to itself in part by placatory means, can be applied to religious as well as to economic unrest.<sup>5</sup>

*MAP III: The area of the Whitsun riots, 1605<sup>6</sup>*



<sup>5</sup> Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics in early modern England*, p. 200; A. Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley c.1596-1615', *Past and Present*, 193 (2006), pp. 41-72, pp. 44, 72.

<sup>6</sup> The map is based on Mathias, *Whitsun Riot*, p. 133.

The Whitsun riots began in the early hours of Tuesday 21 May 1605 when a group of Catholics, some of them armed, buried the body of recusant Ales Wellington in Allensmore churchyard, a few miles from Hereford.<sup>7</sup> At one level, these Catholics were doing no more than showing contempt towards Allensmore's vicar Richard Heynes, who had reputedly refused to inter Ales Wellington.<sup>8</sup> She had been excommunicated for at least a decade, convicted as a recusant by the sheriff in 1595, named by Bishop Herbert Westfaling in 1600 as one of those 'who do not attend divine prayer or other festivals' despite being 'solemnly and publically denounced' in her parish church, and presented again in 1602 to the dean's court, alongside her yeoman husband Thomas, for not receiving the communion.<sup>9</sup> Heynes was 'no Calvinist', although he was later dubbed such, for he admitted in October 1605 that he 'had not preached since Christmas last (and) fewe at other times' but, given the increased audacity of Catholics at Allensmore since his appointment in 1595, it is not surprising that he objected to Ales Wellington's burial.<sup>10</sup> In 1595 there had been two recusants in the parish; by 1602 there were five, and three years later five more, as well as a woman who refused purification after childbirth and 'some' parishioners who would not send their children to be catechised.<sup>11</sup>

Yet the object of the burial party's derision was not only Heynes but also the Bishop of Hereford, Robert Bennet. Bennet had, he claimed, already been subjected to 'libels and contumelies of all kinds' in retaliation for his persecution of local Catholics in the two years

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<sup>7</sup> T. Hamond, *The Late Commotion of certain papists in Herefordshire Occasioned by the Death of one Alice Wellington, a recusant, who was buried after the popish maner in the towne of Allens-moore, neer Hereford, upon Tuesday in Whitsun weeke last past, 1605, With other Excellent matter thereby occasioned, Truly set forth* (London, 1605), Early English Books Online, <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

<sup>8</sup> Hamond, *The Late Commotion*; Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 15 June 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 384, pp. 247-248.

<sup>9</sup> Bowler, Recusant Roll No. 4 (1594-1596), p. 156; Huntington Archives, EL 2165, Herbert Westfaling to the Privy Council January 1600; HAS HD4/1/160, Acts of Office 1602.

<sup>10</sup> Heynes was called a Calvinist by Hamond in *The Late Commotion*; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. For Heynes' appointment in 1595, see The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835, [www.clergydatabase.org.uk](http://www.clergydatabase.org.uk).

<sup>11</sup> HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

since his election to the diocese in January 1603.<sup>12</sup> He had taken an aggressive stance against them. After just one year in office he had ‘certified almost sixty persons going to mass’ in Hereford city, two of them minor gentry from parishes near Allensmore; he had declared his intention of arresting at least one local recusant, Rice ap Rice of Kilpeck, and of capturing ‘one North the priest’, and, most significantly, in December 1604 he had sought to thoroughly undermine the Catholics’ activities by ‘giving direcon ... to take’ the seminary priest Roger Cadwallador, a key figure in the area, who was actively conducting masses, baptising children and solemnising marriages.<sup>13</sup>

Bennet’s failure to capture Cadwallador must in part have been down to more than ordinary support among local Catholics, for Cadwallador was himself a local man who had grown up in the village of Stretton, three miles west of Hereford.<sup>14</sup> His family, also, was well known to Catholics in the Allensmore area. By 1603 the priest’s father, yeoman Roger Cadwallador senior, was living among them at Treville Park, and when he was buried ‘secretlie ... by night’ in his home village of Stretton, the burial was attended by at least one man who was to be implicated in the Whitsun riots, his neighbour ‘William Morgan of the Parke’ (that is, Treville).<sup>15</sup> With Morgan at the graveside were ‘BLANK Browne of Madley’ and ‘John

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<sup>12</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online; Richardson, ‘Bennet, Robert (d. 1617)’.

<sup>13</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste. Bennet named fifty-two people who had attended a mass at a house in Hereford in February 1604, including Anne Bridges of Eaton Bishop, and Elizabeth Bromwich of Madley; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 124-125, The names of such recusantes as were assembled to hear a masse in the house of John Ireland February 1604, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Pollen (ed.), *Memoirs of Missionary Priests by Richard Challoner* (London, 1924), p. 300.

<sup>15</sup> The burial of Roger Cadwallador senior is recorded in HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604. William Morgan referred in 1605 to Roger Cadwallador senior having been his neighbour in TNA SP 14/14 f. 104, The examination of William Morgan by William Waad 18 June 1605. Ben Rees names the priest Roger Cadwallador’s father as a John Cadwallador, but John Cadwallador of Stretton was the son of Roger Cadwallador senior, according to Cadwallador senior’s will of 1603, and this same John is named as the brother of Roger Cadwallador the priest both in a letter following the priest’s martyrdom in 1610 as well as in a Star Chamber case of 1621; B. Rees, ‘Cadwallador, Roger (1566/7–1610)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); TNA prob11/115/134, The Will of Roger Cadwallador of Treville 1603, proved 1610; AAW Series A IX 62, A briefe discourse of the

Griffiths of BLANK' (blank spaces were left in the consistory court record), perhaps William Browne of Madley and John Griffiths of Kingstone, both men who were also to be heavily involved in the events of the riots.<sup>16</sup> Bennet's efforts to capture Cadwallador may well have been hampered further by the activities of the priest George Williams, who was using the alias Rice Griffiths. Williams, according to Bennet, had been recommended to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Bancroft, as a priest who had abjured his priesthood and taken the oath of allegiance, whereupon Bennet had 'given him access to my ear'.<sup>17</sup> These links of Williams to 'the lorde Archbyshoppe of Canterbury and to the Lorde Byshoppe of Hereforde' had enabled him to disclose 'whatsoever he heard', giving warning to priests 'to avoid certen places' as well as to recusants that the bishop was on their trail.<sup>18</sup> Now, therefore, in the Whitsun of 1605, the Catholics of the area were continuing their campaign against Robert Bennet with a deliberately defiant show of strength at Ales Wellington's funeral.

Thus, the vicar of Allensmore, woken by the sound of a sacring bell on the morning of the funeral, 'espyed ... some fourty or fifty persons (many weaponed in offensive maner) accompanying a Coarse (corpse) round about the church'. Unwilling to challenge such a threatening crowd on his own, Heynes went with names and details to the bishop who in turn 'directed a warrant' to High Constable George Wenlond. Wenlond, intent on making an arrest and accompanied by a petty constable and Master William Gough, 'speedily repayred' to Hungerstone township 'unto the shoppe of one James Cowle a weaver', one of those seen by

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proceeding of our glorious martyr Mr Cadwallador preist from the time of his apprehension to his death; TNA STAC 8/83/12, Barratt v. Prior 1621.

<sup>16</sup> HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604. The full entry for Roger Cadwallador senior's burial reads 'Cadwallador, Roger defunct – Thomas Vaughan warned before Jacob Bailie answered that William Morgan of the Parke was present at the said burial, BLANK Browne of Madley, Richard BLANK of Eaton Bishop and John Cadwallador and Jacob Cadwallador of Stretton and John Griffiths of BLANK. In the margin is: 'Buriall at night without minister'.

<sup>17</sup> TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online. For Bancroft's dealing with Catholics see P. Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 173-192.

<sup>18</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

the vicar at the funeral. Cowle and a second weaver, William Chabnor, fought off the constables and fled, but a third key figure at the Allensmore burial, Leonard Marsh, was successfully apprehended and Wenlond's party marched him off towards Hereford.<sup>19</sup> He was rescued, however, by a group of his co-religionists led by his brother William who mounted an ambush just outside the city in Hay Wood.<sup>20</sup> A second ambush – this time abortive – was organised eight days later, on 29 May, when Sir James Scudamore, Sir Roger Bodenham and 'other justices' went to a house called Whitfield in Treville Park to arrest Mr William Morgan, whom they believed to be behind the Hay Wood ambush and at whose house, following the burial, a mass had been conducted by Roger Cadwallador.<sup>21</sup> The Catholics had been warned about the planned arrest of Morgan from a contact, a 'sawier who fledd out of Hereford'.<sup>22</sup> Two men who were later captured testified that they had been summoned to the ambush at night by 'one Thomas ap Pricharde', a yeoman from Grange Farm in Abbey Dore, whom they termed 'the capteyne of them'. Ap Pricharde had taken them from his house to 'the Cockett'. They found twenty or perhaps thirty armed men there, and there were another thirty or so in 'the Valletts neere Mr William Morgan's howse'.<sup>23</sup> These locations, most probably the modern hamlet of Cockyard, on the road from Kingstone to Wormebridge at the north-west corner of the Whitfield estate, and the Valletts, now a farm on a lane just south of Whitfield house, would

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<sup>19</sup> Hamond, *The Late Commotion*.

<sup>20</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as are present at the rescue of Leonard Marsh, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 184, f. 211, Actors at the rescue of Leonard Marsh 24 May 1605, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. All documents relating to the Earl of Worcester's report of 5 July were for some time misfiled as 22 May 1605 (personal communication, the archivist, Hatfield House).

<sup>21</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>22</sup> TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>23</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

have ensured that two of the routes which the Justices of the Peace might take were guarded.<sup>24</sup> ‘Sondry messengers went to and fro ... in post haste ... to give ... intelligence to Mr Morgan of the busynesse in hande’, but they were presumably not in the right place for they missed their quarry: messengers appeared towards dawn to tell the two groups of men that Morgan had been arrested and that they were to ‘depart’.<sup>25</sup>

One more riotous event took place in the area. It involved a separate Catholic community, as indicated on map IV below, but was clearly a reaction to events further north, with the bishop seeking to destroy a suspected meeting-place for Catholics on the borders of his diocese, twelve miles from Allensmore.<sup>26</sup> This was the Darren, a house in the wooded area above the river Monnow, where the Jesuit Robert Jones regularly took mass.<sup>27</sup> Jones had received information that the bishop was threatening to raid the house, and at dawn on 11 June, three weeks after Ales Wellington’s funeral, he sent messages summoning men and boys to ‘come forth and bring some weapon’ to defend the place.<sup>28</sup> Two groups assembled, one at Pwll-y-Cwm in the parish of Llangattocke-Vipon-Avell in Monmouthshire and another at Coyd Bangham, which was probably on the Herefordshire side of the border.<sup>29</sup> The ‘company’ then met up with Jones on the highway ‘a little above Llanrothal’s bridge, two miles south of the Darren, where the priest told them that ‘the Bishop of Hereford was to come that day to burne the house’, and he ‘preyed them to resist him’. The records name eighty-two men who

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<sup>24</sup> See Map III, above.

<sup>25</sup> TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>26</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Of the 158 people named as having been associated with one or more of the riotous incidents, eighty-two were involved at the Darren and seventy-six in the Allensmore area, but there is no overlap of names, as map IV, below, shows.

<sup>27</sup> TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>28</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>29</sup> Pwll-y-Cwm is still a place-name in Llangattocke-Vipon-Avell, but Coed Bangham no longer exists.

armed themselves and waited at the Darren until evening, but the bishop's party did not appear, and at 'ten past the clocke' everyone dispersed, 'most ... (going) to the Aylhouse to drink'.<sup>30</sup>

It is possible that both the bishop and the sheriff did set out for the Darren but had been turned back, although Bennet makes no mention of this in any of his letters. Bennet's claim was only that he sent an apparitor to confer with some of the Darren recusants, whose reception, he implied, was poor.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, three witnesses testified that William David Studd, a yeoman from Llangattocke-Vipon-Avell, and John James, 'man' to Mr Walter Williams of the same parish, had been among those who 'persuaded the Byshop and Justice with bow and arrowes'. It appears also that the bishop and his men had taken a captive, the son of alehouse keeper Florence Roberts, and that the group 'had beene following the Bishopp and Sheriffe to take (him) away', although it is not clear if they succeeded in this second objective.<sup>32</sup>

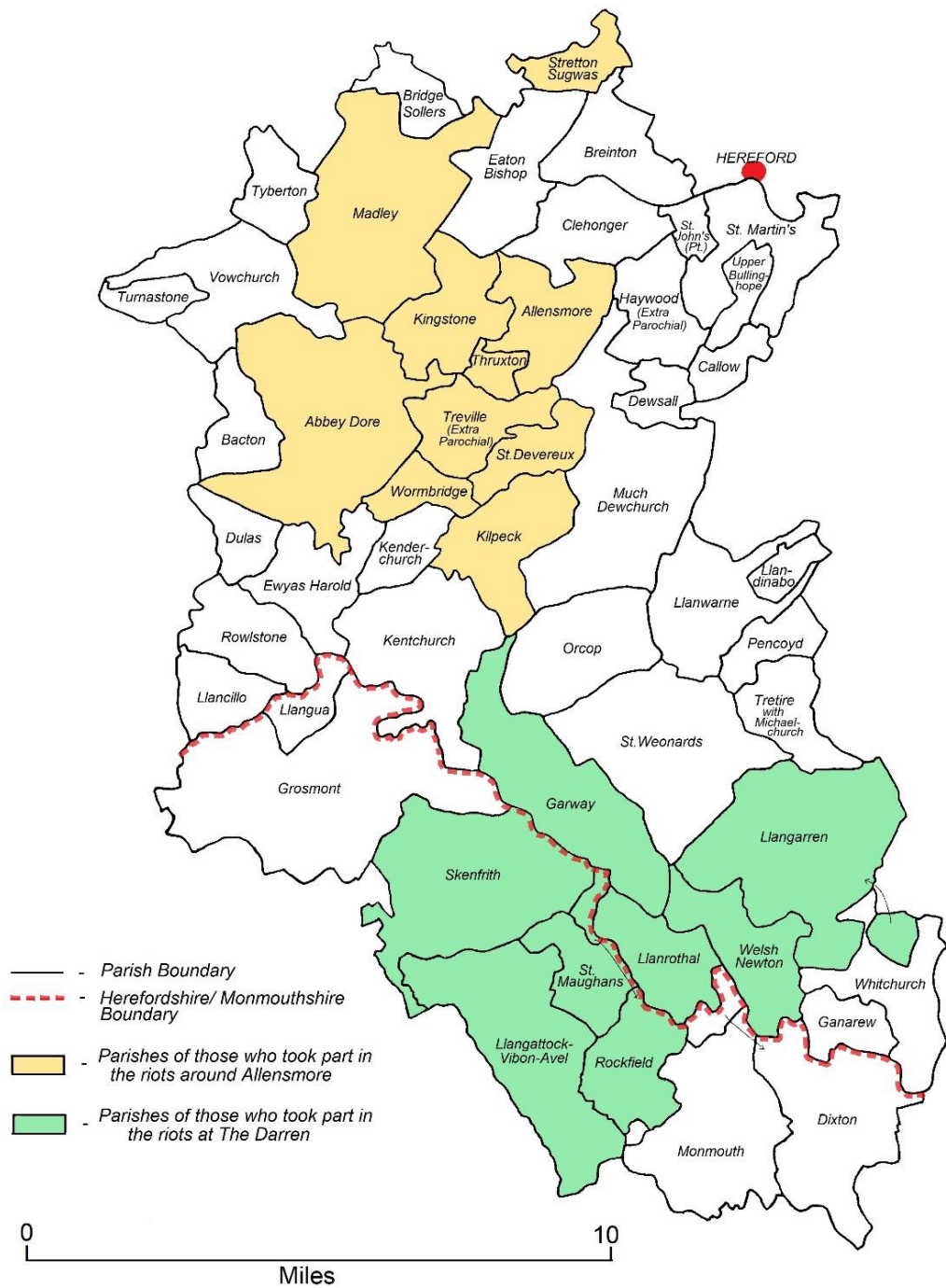
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<sup>30</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>31</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 13 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppe (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 525, State Papers online. Bennet's words were: 'An apparitor, whom I sent for some recusants to confer with them, was entertained as appears by his examination herewith sent'.

<sup>32</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

**MAP IV Parishes of residence of Whitsun rioters, where known**





If Ales Wellington's funeral had indeed been a deliberate show of Catholic strength aimed at Bennet, what of these ensuing riots? Were the actions of weavers James Cowle and William Chabnor, who fled from the constables, the ambush mounted to rescue Leonard Marsh, the attempt to prevent the Justices from apprehending Mr William Morgan at his house at Treville, and even the defence of the Darren, essentially natural responses to the threats from authority, in the context of early modern society? This is a feasible interpretation of James Cowle's and William Chabnor's flight, of the rescue of Leonard Marsh, and of the attempt by Studd's group to liberate Florence Roberts' son from the sheriff. On the one hand the prospect of capture and gaol was uninviting, particularly for the poor prisoner unable to pay for 'a privy lodging', and on the other there was a reasonable chance that escape would be successful - responsibility for search and arrest lay in the hands of magistrates who were 'dependent on the active support of inferior officers and sections of the public at large'.<sup>33</sup> William Marsh, for example, who had led the rescue of his brother Leonard at Hay Wood, although later arrested, was initially protected from capture by Roger Madox who hid him in his house at Eaton Bishop.<sup>34</sup> In another case around this time Mr John Phillips was attempting to arrest a John Cowles of Much Birch but when Phillips' men eventually tracked Cowles down they found he had taken refuge in the church, from which it was impossible to extract him because various members of the congregation put up a fight.<sup>35</sup> There are parallels also with a well-documented Catholic riot at Childwall in Lancashire in 1600. In the Childwall case the recusant Ralph Hitchmough burned two crosses into his wife's burial sheet, infuriating the vicar who threatened to report him to the bishop. The local high constable, a known Puritan, pre-empted the matter, however, and tried to arrest Hitchmough four days later. During the ensuing struggle several people ran to

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<sup>33</sup> P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat* (London, 2002), p. 189; S. Hindle, 'The Keeping of the Public Peace', in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 213-245, p. 218.

<sup>34</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>35</sup> TNA STAC 8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 1607.

Hitchmough's aid and pulled the constable away, enabling the recusant to flee to the safety of his own house.<sup>36</sup>

There are examples of more organised riots, also, which successfully exploited weaknesses in early modern law enforcement and to which the two larger ambushes in Herefordshire seem to correspond. Thus, the majority of Catholic riots in county Durham between 1596 and 1615 were the result of resistance to arrest, and in Lancashire the dozen cases of organised ambush and Catholic violence between 1590 and 1604, described by Haigh, were directed at threats from authority – the capture of priests, or officers trying to seize the goods of recusants.<sup>37</sup>

Yet events in Herefordshire were being driven by more than reaction to lack of robust policing. Like Katherine Gawen of Wiltshire, the plebeian Whitsun rioters believed that 'upon the king's coming ... times were changed for Catholics'.<sup>38</sup> They had direct knowledge of James I's supposed promise of toleration in 1603 because George Williams, one of the priests working amongst them, had 'deliv'ed out unto recusantes Certen Copies of lettres exhibited to the kinges ma'tie at his firste entrance by papistes', giving the recusants 'encouragmt & hope of tollerac'on'.<sup>39</sup> They are likely to have been aware, also, of the toleration petitions put forward

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<sup>36</sup> R. G. Dottie, 'The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600: A Reappraisal', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire for 1982*, 132 (1983), pp. 1-28, pp. 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> E. Clavering, E., 'Riot and Recusancy, Durham Catholic Resistance in the Reign of James I', *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin*, 49 (1942), pp. 3-19, pp. 3, 5, 6, 14; C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 327-332. Other, apparently isolated, examples of Catholic resistance to arrest are Catholic Thomas Habington's deployment of force at Hindlip in 1598 when the sheriff came to confiscate his goods; the defence of yeoman recusant Simon Rider of West Bromwich by his neighbours in 1601 when the sheriff came to confiscate his goods, and an attack by the recusant Copleys of Worcestershire on the property of Thomas Allen, foreman of the grand jury, who had been making the Copleys' lives difficult; V. Burke, 'The Economic Consequences of Recusancy in Elizabethan Worcestershire', *Recusant History* (1975), pp. 71-77; M. Rowlands, 'Rome's Snaky Brood: Catholic Yeomen, Craftsmen and Townsmen in the West Midlands, 1600-1641', *Recusant History*, 24 (1998-1999), pp. 147-170; R. Manning, *Village Revolts* (Oxford, 1988), p. 102.

<sup>38</sup> M. Questier, draft chapter, 2013, 'Stuart Dawn, the Accession of James VI', for a forthcoming publication. I am grateful to Michael Questier for allowing me to read this draft.

<sup>39</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste. Rice Griffiths was identified by the Bishop of Hereford as George Williams; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online. A candidate for 'certen lettres exhibited to the kinges ma'tie' is the Stowe manuscript, BL Stowe MS 180, f. 3. I am grateful to Howard Barlow for this reference and for a transcript of the letter.

by the appellants: Cadwallador sided with this group, and Dr William Bishop, a leading member of the faction, was in Treville in 1605 and may well have been in the area before this.<sup>40</sup> Bishop had been in prison for a time in 1603, having been arrested shortly after James became king, but he was soon released and seems to have worked as a missionary priest in the Midlands.<sup>41</sup> It is possible that his circuit included the riots area - he came from Brailes in Warwickshire and had a probable relation at Treville, Mr Francis Bishop, himself 'a sojourner from Warwickshire'.<sup>42</sup> William Bishop was certainly staying with Francis in 1605, and, as Francis also 'enterteyned' Roger Cadwallador in his house and both Cadwallador and William Bishop held masses there, this would have given the rioters access to his thinking.<sup>43</sup>

In 1605, however, prospects for Catholics were far less auspicious. James made it very clear at the opening of the March 1604 Parliament that 'the divers errors and superstitions' which had 'crept into the popish religion' were to be resisted, and a month later new anti-Catholic legislation was introduced.<sup>44</sup> In July two Catholic priests were executed at Warwick; by the end of November recusancy fines had been re-introduced in full; the following January two hundred pounds worth of popish books had been publicly burnt in St Paul's churchyard, and, by April 1605 Thomas Pounce had been forced to stand on a form in Westminster Hall and publicly confess he was at fault for speaking out against the execution of a lay man who

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<sup>40</sup> Rees, 'Cadwallador, Roger (1566/7–1610); TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>41</sup> P. Holmes, 'Bishop, William (c.1554–1624)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>42</sup> Francis Bishop had been at Treville Park at least since 1604 when the bishop named him as a 'sojourner' from another county; TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury, 22 June 1605.

<sup>43</sup> TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605. Francis confessed that he had entertained Dr William Bishop, and, given that Francis was 'of Warwickshire', according to the Bishop of Hereford, William is likely to have been a relative; he is not mentioned, however, by Tennant who researched William Bishop's family at Brailes in Warwickshire; T. A. Tennant, 'The Bishop family and Rectory Farm, 1511-1603: an overview', in *Brailes History, episodes from a forgotten past, an occasional series* (Shipston on Stour, 2006), pp. 34-59, p. 57.

<sup>44</sup> Questier, 'Stuart Dawn'. The legislation was eventually passed as 'An Act of the due execution of the Statutes against Jesuits, seminary priests and recusants'.

had allegedly assisted a priest to escape justice. Nonetheless, James I continued to send out a few apparently clement signals - just two months before the Whitsun riots Cecil's message to the Venetian ambassador that 'many think that the king is about to grant freedom of conscience' had caused consternation among the anti-Catholic party.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, Robert Bennet reported that George Williams had himself 'of late' been in the presence of the king 'exhibiting a petition', doubtless with the knowledge of his plebeian associates.<sup>46</sup> The Whitsun rioters were thus caught up in a wider company, making a statement against the king and his shift in policy towards Catholics since his coming to the throne.

There are also hints in the sources that the Whitsun rioters were emboldened because they knew about plans for more widespread rebellion. One such plan was the Bye Plot, devised by the priest William Watson and fellow conspirators Griffin Markham and George Brooke, who intended to kidnap the as-yet uncrowned king, hold him prisoner in the Tower and demand a toleration for Catholicism. Catholics across England would reinforce the demand by establishing their houses as armed strongholds. Support failed to materialise and the plot was betrayed.<sup>47</sup> But Robert Bennet asserted that William Watson's 'intended treason' was 'in parte hammered' in Herefordshire, and there were indeed specific links between Watson and the gentry Scudamores of Kentchurch, a parish near the Darren, one of the riot sites.<sup>48</sup> Bye-plot conspirator Anthony Copley testified that John Scudamore of Kentchurch had taken an oath with Watson 'to present with others a petition to his majesty for tolleration of religion', which according to Markham was a pretext to gather Catholics together in order to carry out the scheme for kidnapping the king.<sup>49</sup> Thomas Scudamore, John's father, maintained that it was

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online. Among the early petitioners to James were the Jesuit John Gerard and his brother, Thomas Gerard; Questier, 'Stuart Dawn'.

<sup>47</sup> M. Nicholls, 'Markham, Sir Griffin (born c. 1565, died in or after 1644)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>48</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>49</sup> S. R. Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642 I* (London, 1883), p. 109.

his son's wife Amy who had been the means of bringing him in contact with both Watson and Copley.<sup>50</sup> This was probably true, for following the failure of the Bye Plot, Watson fled, and after spending the night of Thursday 4 July 1603 at Scudamore's house at Kentchurch he was taken on the next day into Monmouthshire by 'one Minors' who may well have been Amy's steward, Richard Mynors.<sup>51</sup> Amy 'continued to commend Watson's activities', no doubt to her plebeian connections as well as to others, thus causing local feelings to run high.<sup>52</sup> News of Watson's agenda presumably spread also via Roger Cadwallador and Mr William Morgan, both 'actors' in the Bye Plot, and both with extensive contacts among local Catholics in the northern parishes of the riot area.<sup>53</sup>

Another rumour of rebellion in 1603 was associated with one 'North the priest', identified by the bishop's assistant Paul Delahay as 'Eton alias North', who had travelled from Monmouthshire to stir certain 'Jesuited gentlemen' to arms.<sup>54</sup> By 1605, these gentlemen,

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<sup>50</sup> TNA SP 14/3, f. 8, Thomas Scudamore to Sir William Waad 3 August 1603.

<sup>51</sup> TNA SP 14/2, f. 221, Confession of John Scudamore as to William Watson sleeping one night at his house 29 July 1603; TNA SP 14/3, f. 9, Sir William Waad to Cecil 4 August 1603. Richard Mynors is named as Amy's steward in TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619. Robinson has a Richard Mynors of Pengarson Green in Garway, second son of Richard Mynors of Treago, St Weonards; C. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (Almeley, 2001), p. 340.

<sup>52</sup> TNA CP, Thomas Scudamore to Lord Cecil, after 3 August 1603, reproduced in G. D. Owen (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 23 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 113, State Papers online. For Amy Scudamore's plebeian contacts see TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619. The contacts included 'notorious recusants' Henry Farmer, Nicholas Williams, Richard Pigge and John Williams, in Garway and Kentchurch parishes.

<sup>53</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 123-124, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; Hamond, *The Late Commotion*.

<sup>54</sup> TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council, A relacon of the Jesuites; Herefordshire and thereabouts June 1605. Eton alias North may be Reginald Eaton alias Francis North, ordained at Rheims in 1587 and described in 1591 as 'a little short fellow with a broad, flaxey beard, some thirty-four or thirty-five years old' who became a Jesuit in 1609; T. McCoog, 'English and Welsh Jesuits', *Catholic Record Society* (1994) p. 160; G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, I (Durham, 1968), p. 107. This might be the same man described by Shropshire yeoman Richard Bubb to the President of the Council in the Marches in 1607. Bubb referred to Norris alias North, 'a proper tall man, about thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, well-favoured, somewhat fat, a large beard cut broad and Abram-coloured. He frequented Red [Powis] Castle, 'Norris being lately come out of Spain, and the said Bubb met Norris afterwards about Ilford Water, riding, as Norris told him, to Red Castle, which was after Norris had been discharged out of Oxford gaol'; TNA SP 14/28, f. 206, Description of many priests and Jesuits discovered to the Lord President by Ric. Bubb, with the places and families frequented by them 16 December 1607. I am grateful to Michael Hodgetts for this reference. On the other hand, Caraman, following Foley, gives North as an alias of Robert Jones; Mathias, *Whitsun Riot*, p. 40 n.2. Paul Delahay referred to 'Parry, Williams, James Morreys alias Jones, Eton alias North, Davies and divers others' as 'doing very much hurt' at the assignment of Jones alias Holland, Lister alias Butler and Oldcorne alias Hall. This looks as if North and Jones were different people, but as James Morreys was one of Jones's aliases, Delahay may have been unreliably

further encouraged by Robert Jones, were said by the high sheriff to have ‘nothing in their mouths but ‘the sworde, the sworde’, and were bragging that Spain and France would come to assist them.<sup>55</sup> One of the gentlemen, Thomas Bridges, probably ‘Mr Thomas Bridges of Suggers (Sugwas), Jesuited to a high degree’, told the bishop he had heard that ‘there would be such a sturre in Herefordshire as there had not bin these many yeares.’<sup>56</sup> It may have been this rebellion that was alluded to by William Morgan when he was examined in the Tower of London on 15 June 1605 and admitted that the Jesuit Robert Jones ‘came out of Monmouthshire (and) bad him he should take some Course for the defence of (the Catholic) Cause because the Bishop ment to take some hard course (with them)’.<sup>57</sup> All this filtered down to the plebeian rioters: ‘some of the Company’ lying in wait at Treville claimed that ‘there were 100 comming out of Monmouthshire’; Philip Giles, a leading rioter, declared that ‘he would bring a well-weaponed company out of Monmouth’, and, at the Darren, John Ridge heard ‘a Bragg by one of the assemblie that upon one hours warning they could procure in reddyng 2000 persons’.<sup>58</sup>

Although religiously driven, the Whitsun riots can therefore be read as a type of crowd politics conceptualised by John Walter in his analyses of economic riots. The essence of Walter’s argument is that the ‘public transcript’ - the public version of the relationships between dominant and subordinate groups - provided an opening for popular political agency. The coercive powers of the rulers were limited; this put a premium on pre-empting disorder;

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informed about both Morreys and North. Paul Delahay wrote to Cecil from Alterenes (Allt-yr-ynis) in Walterstone parish on the southern-most tip of Herefordshire, where he was a tenant of the Earl of Salisbury; see also footnote 82.

<sup>55</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605. The Jesuited gentlemen of Herefordshire in the sheriff’s list were William Griffiths of the Cwm, Ambrose Griffiths of Hereford, M. Vaughan of Hereford, Richard and Edward Clarke of Wellington, Thomas Bridges of Sugwas, Edward and Gregory Havard of Hereford, George Kemble of Welsh Newton, Mr Bonner of Llanrothal and Dr Harley of Hereford.

<sup>56</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605; TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury, 1605. Sugwas was in Eaton Bishop parish, but north of the river Wye and so separated from the rest of the parish. It was added to Stretton to make the new civil parish of Stretton Sugwas in the late nineteenth century; B. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names* (Almeley, 2009), p. 205.

<sup>57</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 104, The examination of William Morgan by William Waad in the Tower 18 June 1605.

<sup>58</sup> TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

thus, the rulers sought ‘to secure consent to their right to rule by acknowledging protection of the subject as its primary responsibility’. However, the rulers’ claim to a protective role gave the ruled room for negotiation - grumbling, personal appeal, public ridicule, libel, petition, and, particularly powerful, crowd action.<sup>59</sup> The Herefordshire Whitsun rioters’ move from libel and petition to crowd action can thus be seen as a measure of their conviction and determination: they were ‘defending the frontline’ of their faith, demonstrating to vicar, bishop and king that they were not prepared to make concessions when their salvation was at stake.<sup>60</sup>

The immediate response of the authorities to the rioters also accords with the pattern typical of economic riots identified by Walter, namely that awareness of their limited powers provoked alarm, even panic, and that the Privy Council therefore ‘found itself at the centre of a vortex ... their own anxieties and fantasies seemingly confirmed’.<sup>61</sup> When Robert Bennet received the news of Ales Wellington’s burial, his first move had been to obtain warrants for the arrest of the Catholics, no doubt seeing the illicit funeral as a way for him to round up a large group of trouble-makers and perhaps track down the priest Roger Cadwallador who was still at large. But, as events unfolded, the repeated phrases in his letters to the Earl of Salisbury convey real disquiet: ‘a most dangerous riot’, ‘pernicious to our lives’, ‘I shall not long escape their hands’, ‘desperate fury’, ‘all these tumults’.<sup>62</sup> Here too, however, was his opportunity to harangue the Council and push forward his view that uncontrolled Catholicism would spread to further violence: Catholics would, he claimed, ‘join in force if any occasion be offered’, echoing the high sheriff’s point that the Jesuit set were bragging that Spain and France were

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<sup>59</sup> Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics*, pp. 10-11, 196-217.

<sup>60</sup> The metaphor ‘defending the frontline’ is from Marshall, ‘Confessionalisation and Community’, p. 75.

<sup>61</sup> Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics*, p. 103.

<sup>62</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online; TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 13 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 525, State Papers online; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online.

ready to come to their assistance.<sup>63</sup> He must have felt that the evidence backed him up. That hundreds of men were ready to march in from Monmouthshire was rumour, though terrifying enough, but even without this the bishop and the Earl of Worcester had identified 158 people as having taken part in at least one of the riotous events.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the rioters' intentions were clear. The vicar Richard Heynes said that 'many' of the company at the burial were 'weaponed in an offensive manner'. The pamphleteer Thomas Hamond reported bills, staves and swords, and three of those captured confessed to hedging bills and a rapier. Witnesses spoke of similar weapons at the Treville ambush where, also, a 'piece', or gun, had been seen, and alehouse-keeper Florence Roberts swore she had seen 'thirty persons' coming from the Darren 'with long bills, javelins, daggers and bows and arrows', besides a man with a 'fowling piece' and another with a pistol. Perhaps, too, Bennet had himself been deterred *en route* to the Darren by a volley of arrows.<sup>65</sup>

The bishop's expression of outrage and his fears of further disorder triggered, in turn, the alarm of the king and his Privy Council, their ready willingness to believe wild rumours and their call for the punishment of the offenders.<sup>66</sup> Nicolo Molin, the Venetian ambassador, wrote on 15 June that events had 'caused the King and the Council a very great anxiety' because the Catholics in the region had declared that they 'would shed the last drop of their blood for

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<sup>63</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online; TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605.

<sup>64</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>65</sup> Hamond, *The Late Commotion*; TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. A bill is a tool with a crescent-shaped blade, often with a sharp hook, used in hedging and coppicing; S. A. Raymond, *Words from Wills and other probate records* (Bury, 2004), p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics*, p. 103.



their religion'.<sup>67</sup> Other sources endorse Molin's words: a certain 'G. D.' had written to the Catholic Sir Everard Digby four days earlier, on 11 June, that 'matters are like to proceed in hard terms with our English Catholics' and 'for the rebellious behaviour used in Herefordshire (the king) thinks it needless any longer to spare their blood'. The king had made a three-hour speech at the Court of Greenwich to all the judges on 9 June and given them 'a most straight charge to enquire of all recusants in their circuits', a point emphasised by the anti-Catholic Member of Parliament and courtier, Sir Henry Neville, who confirmed that the king told the judges to be 'very severe'.<sup>68</sup> The Herefordshire magistrates were to be ordered to apprehend the protagonists and punish them sternly 'in virtue of the authority they hold'.<sup>69</sup> Then on 29 June news reached London that the situation had worsened. The magistrates had failed to make the arrests and 'perhaps a thousand (Catholics) had banded together in arms'. Now the Council met every day, and 'contrary to his practice, the King is present ... and many, above all the King, felt they must take up arms in earnest and repress the audacity of these persons'.<sup>70</sup> On 13 July Molin noted that the gibbet went up for a few days.<sup>71</sup>

In Walter's model of economic riots, the final stage of the authorities' response was not only to quell the rebellion but also to take steps to avoid severe repression, lest overbearing action provoked further problems. Instead of excessively harsh reprisals, the authorities sought to return power to themselves in part by remedying the popular grievances at the root of the disorder.<sup>72</sup> In the first Maldon food riot of 1629, for example, some members of the Maldon

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<sup>67</sup> Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 15 June 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 384, pp. 247-248.

<sup>68</sup> TNA CP, G. (?) D. to his kinsman, Sir Everard Digby at Cotehurst 11 June, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 518, State Papers online; M. Greengrass, 'Neville, Sir Henry (1561/2-1615)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>69</sup> Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 15 June 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 384, pp. 247-248.

<sup>70</sup> Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 29 June 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 390, p. 252.

<sup>71</sup> Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 13 July 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 396, p. 259.

<sup>72</sup> Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics*, p. 199.

Corporation – albeit reluctantly - purchased grain for the poor from their own pockets, thus acting out the contemporary discourse that it was the responsibility of élites to defend the common good by showing the impoverished rioters that the authorities would take care of them in time of dearth.<sup>73</sup> Of course, it was unthinkable that James I or the Privy Council would attempt the appeasement of riotous plebeian Catholics in south-west Herefordshire by granting them any kind of dispensation to practise their faith. Nonetheless, there was a placatory element in their next steps: in Molin's words, 'the opinion of the majority prevailed that it is better to proceed cautiously'.<sup>74</sup> The Earl of Worcester was sent to his seat at Raglan, twelve miles from the Herefordshire/Monmouthshire border, arriving on 29 June. He summoned the bishop and Justices, admonished them for their neglect in 'suppressing popish superstition', then instructed the Justices, 'everyone in his particular division ... to make a general search of the shire in all suspected houses of priests, Jesuits and obstinate recusants'. This was carried out on 2 July. Worcester proceeded to Hereford where he supervised the interrogation of those apprehended. Mr William Morgan was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and another man, yeoman John Smith, who had apparently been approached by Robert Jones and exhorted to encourage local Catholics to rebel, and who had also acted on one occasion as a link between the priest George Williams and Sir Charles Morgan, was confined to the Gatehouse.<sup>75</sup> Yet Worcester played down the role of non-gentry Catholics, imprisoning only 'a few fellows of the baser sort ... more to show that he had done something than because they deserved punishment'. By October, only five plebeians had been singled out as examples and gaoled at Hereford.<sup>76</sup> In his report to Cecil, Worcester made no mention of any thousand-strong

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-39, 197-198.

<sup>74</sup> Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 29 June 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 390, p. 252.

<sup>75</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f.104 The examination of William Morgan by William Waad in the Tower 18 June 1605; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

<sup>76</sup> Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 10 August 1605, reproduced in H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Calendar entry number 408, p. 266. The five were Henry Price alias Tailor

gathering but assured 'His Majesty' and Lord Salisbury 'of the quiet state of the country' and maintained that those involved were but 'silly creatures'.<sup>77</sup>

There is a parallel here with the follow-up to the Childwall riots. The recusants of Childwall were shown who was in charge – they were 'admonished ... and cautioned to become good churchmen' - but it was the local Catholic landlord, after he had himself been called to London for a caution, who was delegated to administer the reprimand to his tenants, the Privy Council thus injecting a 'caring' ingredient into the warning.<sup>78</sup> In the Herefordshire case it was crypto-Catholic and 'local lord', the Earl of Worcester, who conducted the stern examinations of the rioters but who also underlined the need for 'true obedience to his Majesty and his laws', laws which were there for the comfort 'of good and dutiful subjects'.<sup>79</sup>

Interpreting Worcester's role as one of placator of popular grievances, in line with Walter's thesis, is of course only part of the political story. There was much national uncertainty about the king's religious policy in 1605, with both Catholics and godly Protestants vying for ascendancy. Robert Bennet was eager to demonstrate that Catholics were a far greater threat to the regime than any danger posed by the Puritan party; Worcester wished it to be understood that there was no prospect of Catholic rebellion. In this Worcester sided with Archbishop Bancroft and 'those who had negotiated with loyalist Catholicism' in the run up to the accession of James.<sup>80</sup> In the event, however, these politics also served to mollify the Catholics. Hence Bancroft, as well as Worcester, allegedly 'persuaded the king that all those tumults were nothing but a broken head or two' and Bancroft's protégé, the priest George

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of Madley, George Smith of Didley in Allensmore, Leonard Marsh and William Marsh of Kingstone and Henry Jenkin of Kingstone.

<sup>77</sup> TNA CP 144/184-188, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 613, State Papers online.

<sup>78</sup> Dottie, 'The Recusant Riots at Childwall', p. 20.

<sup>79</sup> TNA CP 144/184-188, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 613, State Papers online.

<sup>80</sup> Questier, 'Stuart Dawn'.

Williams, made sure this news was broadcast - news, two of the recusants maintained (one of them the key plebeian leader, William Caunt), which ‘encouraged all the ... recusants who had made the Riotts’. They need not anticipate serious repercussions, perhaps even hangings, because those who ‘advertized otherwise’ (that is, that there had been a serious rebellion) had been put in the wrong.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, Bennet was left frustrated when, despite his having arrested Williams, ‘letters came from the Archbishop that the judges should forbear him’.<sup>82</sup> Thus, Williams was not convicted, and although on bond to appear before the King’s Bench the following term, his dismissal from assizes was ‘to the great applause of Papists’.<sup>83</sup>

All this relative leniency notwithstanding, the interrogations conducted by Worcester, Bennet and Paul Delahay, as well as the thorough ecclesiastical court presided over in the autumn by a metropolitan visitor, proved deeply troubling experiences for many non-gentry Catholics.<sup>84</sup> Several plebeians who had taken part in the riots confessed their roles when examined by Worcester and took the oath of submission, including George Smith of Allensmore, who had led the funeral of Ales Wellington, carrying the cross and kneeling to say prayers at the wayside; grasier John Griffiths of Kingstone, who had been present at the funeral,

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<sup>81</sup> TNA CP 191/57, f. 109, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online.

<sup>82</sup> Bennet had ‘asked the assistance’ of Paul Delahay in the examination of George Williams, perhaps motivated by Delahay’s close links to the Cecils. Delahay was married to the daughter of William Cecyll of Alt-yr-ynys, a second cousin of the Earl of Salisbury. This William Cecyll had made a grant of his property to the Earl in 1597 so that it would ‘continue in the name and bloode of the Cecylls’ (his only son having died). Paul Delahay lived at Alt-yr-ynys under the terms of Cecyll’s will and was thus the Earl’s tenant. Delahay had been in touch with Salisbury over various matters, including conference about the property grant and William Cecyll’s funeral in 1598. Bennet, therefore, may have hoped that Salisbury would take heed of Delahay’s word, with regard both to the testimony against George Williams and to the success that Bennet had had in reducing the numbers of Catholics in the county, and that this might offset the displeasure of the Archbishop who had sent Williams to Bennet in the first place; TNA CP 191/57, f. 109, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605; TNA SP 12/153, f. 33, William Ceyll to Lord Burghley 26 April 1582; F. W. Weaver, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1569*, by Robert Cooke (London, 1886), p. 18; HAS AW28/41/1, Grant, William Cecyll of Alteryynys to Sir Robert Cecyll, knight 28 April 1597; TNA prob/11/91, The Will of William Cecill of Allt-yr-ynys 1597; Hatfield House, CP Entry number 169, Paul Delahay to Lord Burghley 13 March 1598. See also, Allt-yr-ynys, the Cecil family’s estate at Walterstone c. 1600, in B. Smith, *Herefordshire Maps 1577 to 1800* (Almeley, 2004), plate 3 and p. 95.

<sup>83</sup> TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online.

<sup>84</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

at the rescue in Hay Wood and at the abortive ambush of the Justices at Treville, and Richard Davies and John Phillips, both armed at the Darren awaiting the arrival of the bishop. Others attempted to gain favour by giving evidence against their co-religionists. John Jenkin of Kingstone, who had been at the funeral, acted as a witness against leaders William Caunt and Phillip Giles, as well as against William Browne of Madley, Richard Smith of Stretton and his own fellow-parishioner William Chabnor. And Robert Steven, probably from Llangattocke-Vipon-Avell, named sixteen men who had been armed with him at the Darren, carefully itemising their weapons and pointing out if they had previously taken part in masses held at the house.<sup>85</sup> Several rioters – William Caunt, Phillip Giles, Henry Price alias Tailor and William Symonds – testified against the priest George Williams, and Symonds and Caunt against Roger Cadwallador.<sup>86</sup> At the metropolitan court it emerged that Roger Madox, who had hidden William Marsh in his house when Marsh had fled from the constables, had finally betrayed the fugitive and given him up for arrest. Henry Price alias Tailor also revealed his fear at this court. He was obliged to appear in court ‘*in raiment de p’tatie supreme*’ (in the raiment of a supreme penitent), but even in this extreme pleaded on behalf of his wife Joan that, despite his heavy involvement in the riots, she was not a recusant.<sup>87</sup> It is apparent, therefore, that underlying any partially tempered admonishments given by the Earl of Worcester lay the ‘inhibiting structures of social inequality’.<sup>88</sup> These structures proved sufficient to return the plebeians to their accustomed place in society. Although the priests eventually came back to the area and a number of people who had taken part in the Whitsun riots continued as determined recusants

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<sup>85</sup> TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Robert Steven may have been from Llangattocke-Vipon-Avell as he claimed that it was Harry Charles and William David Studd, both from this parish, who had summoned him to the Darren.

<sup>86</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

<sup>87</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>88</sup> Wood, ‘Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley’, p. 72.

for many years after 1605, there was never again such a protest in Herefordshire.<sup>89</sup> The Whitsun rioters had attempted to negotiate for liberty of conscience, but they had been defeated and power returned to the authorities.

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<sup>89</sup> For those who remained Catholic see chapter four.

## CHAPTER TWO: ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION IN HEREFORDSHIRE AND THE DETECTION OF CATHOLICS c.1560<sup>1</sup> – 1638

As questions in this thesis about Catholicism in Herefordshire depend to a great extent on the records of the ecclesiastical courts it is pertinent to scrutinise their reliability. Various detailed archival studies have dispelled the view of contemporary critics, and argued by Hill in the 1960s, that ecclesiastical courts in the early modern period tended to be inefficient and its officers lax. On the contrary, it is now acknowledged that many were distinguished by their ‘probity and vigour’.<sup>2</sup> There were exceptions: Gloucester had problems under Bishop Cheyney (1562-1579); in north Wiltshire a corrupt official had to be replaced in the last years of Elizabeth’s reign, and officials appointed by Parkhurst (1560-1575) at Norwich lacked ‘dexteritie in Government’.<sup>3</sup> What though of the Hereford diocese? Could the personnel of the ecclesiastical courts in such a religiously conservative county be dedicated to the business of enacting the Elizabethan settlement? John Scory, appointed bishop in July 1559, appears to have been a determined ouster of Catholics, busy by 1564 searching for priests whom he referred to as ‘ennemeys of the truth’, and he had cause to complain of ‘dissemblers and rancke papistes’ among those ‘who rule the church’.<sup>4</sup> And even if the courts were efficient and the officers dedicated, how well could they know the areas they covered? Can anything, also, be discerned from the records about the reliability of the churchwardens responsible for

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<sup>1</sup> The volume of the Acts of Office for the archdeacon’s court the Hereford diocese, 1558-1559, the first year of Elizabeth I’s reign, survives at the Hereford Archives but is in too poor a condition for consultation.

<sup>2</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 4-10; C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (New York, 1964), pp. 296-309.

<sup>3</sup> R. B. Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts, 1500-1860* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 71; Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 66; R. Houlbrooke, ‘Parkhurst, John (1511?-1575)’, *ONDB* (online edn., January 2008).

<sup>4</sup> TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564 reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564*, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), pp. 11-23; p. 20. Scory had an ambiguous background. In the 1530s he was a Dominican friar at Cambridge but he became an apparently eager convert to Protestantism when the Priory was dissolved in 1538 and he was thereafter an outspoken reformer. When Mary came to the throne Scory allegedly submitted to Bishop Bonner and renounced his wife. Yet by 1554 he had joined the exiles at Emden where he took a leading position; A. Pettegree, ‘Scory, John (d. 1585)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

making presentments to the courts? Ingram noted the reluctance (albeit ‘the merest hint’) on the part of churchwardens to present Catholics in the southernmost areas of Wiltshire where Catholicism was strong, and in Lancashire Haigh judged that it was easy to avoid presentment where there were large numbers of recusants.<sup>5</sup> Are there any signs of concealment in Herefordshire? Were there spatial and temporal variations? Were Catholics detected only ‘when they were looked for’, in response to local and national concerns?<sup>6</sup>

The analysis in this chapter is based on three sets of ecclesiastical court records from Herefordshire: the records of the Dean’s peculiar court which covered parishes in the Hereford deanery and included Hereford city, the records of the archdeacon’s court which covered the remaining deaneries of the county, and the records of the court of the Bishop of Hereford which took cases from all over the diocese.<sup>7</sup> The records of the archidiaconal courts run from 1558 to 1638 with a few breaks, and three books from the Dean’s peculiar court survive, those of 1592-1595, 1608-1613 and 1618-1630.<sup>8</sup> There are also a limited number of Bishop’s court records: a volume dating from the autumn of 1571 to December 1578, a volume for 1582, and a few fragments.<sup>9</sup> All are listed in Appendix I.

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<sup>5</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 325; C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> Haigh, ‘The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Peculiar jurisdiction independent of the bishop was typical of English dioceses; Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts*, p.1. The Hereford deanery peculiar consisted of thirty-four parishes, mostly around the city. There were also three small peculiars for which no records survive: Bullinghope and Moreton-on-Lugg, administered by prebendaries of Hereford cathedral, and Little Hereford administered by the chancellor of the cathedral choir. The archdeacon’s deaneries in Herefordshire were Leominster, Frome, Weston, Weobley, Archenfield and Ross.

<sup>8</sup> The archidiaconal volumes consulted cover office cases (*ex officio mero*) which were initiated by the judge’s action, or very occasionally by a private individual (*ex officio promoto*). The books of the Dean’s court included both office and instance cases. Instance cases (*ad instantum partium*) were private cases initiated by a plaintiff; R. Houlbrooke, *Church courts and the people during the English Reformation 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979), p. 38. The archidiaconal court book for 1601-1602 includes some office cases for the Dean’s peculiar parishes dated 1600 and 1601, and the Dean’s peculiar parishes were also included in the archidiaconal courts of 1605 and 1606; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1605-1610.

<sup>9</sup> The Bishop’s court volume from 1571 to 1579 is catalogued as HD4/1/144 B; the remaining volumes are the HD5/7 series at the Hereford Archives, listed as various sixteenth-century documents.



## **1560-1582: from religious conservatism to the emergence of recusancy**

Smith argued recently that there may have been more recusants in the 1560s and early 1570s than previously acknowledged by historians.<sup>10</sup> He based his contention primarily on evidence from Lancashire where ex-cathedral prebendaries John Morren and Lawrence Vaux operated, both strong opponents of the idea that Catholics should attend Protestant services, and where as early as 1568 seven members of the gentry confessed to not receiving the communion and four to not attending church at all. Ecclesiastical commissioner Mr Glasior believed that there was ‘a great confederacye’ in Lancashire of ‘dyvers gentlemen’ who had sworn ‘not to come to the Churche’, and Smith, by charting the movements of various priests in the area, found connections across both Lancashire and Yorkshire which led him to think Glasior was right.<sup>11</sup> Smith also suggested that Herefordshire was a centre of Catholic resistance in this period. He noted Bishop Scory’s concerns of 1564 about John Blaxton, ex-prebendary of Exeter, and his fellow priests, who had fled to Herefordshire and were ‘spreading their heretical opinions from gentleman’s house to gentleman’s house’.<sup>12</sup> John Scudamore of Kentchurch and Thomas Havard of Hereford, in particular, both closely associated with Blaxton, refused to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity in 1569, Scudamore expressly declaring his refusal to come to church ‘for conscience sake’.<sup>13</sup> At national level Smith thought that the widespread dearth of recusants in the records for the 1560s and early 1570s could largely be attributed to the lack of well-educated ecclesiastical administrators and to the reluctance of churchwardens to report their neighbours. It was the heightening of the perceived threat to the authorities posed by the papal bull of 1570 and the arrival of the

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<sup>10</sup> F. E. Smith, ‘The Origins of Recusancy in Elizabethan England Reconsidered’, *The Historical Journal*, 60 (2016), pp. 301-332, p. 330.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 311, 314-315.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 320-322; Scory named ‘Blaxton, Mugge, Ely, Friar Gregory, Howard, Rastall of Gloucester, Jonson, Menevar, Oswald, Hamerson and Ledbery’, and mentioned ‘certen others whose names I knowe not’; TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564*, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), pp. 11-23; p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, ‘The Origins of Recusancy in Elizabethan England Reconsidered’, p. 321.

seminaries in 1574 and the Jesuits in 1580 that caused the crackdown from the late 1570s on Catholics who had been quietly dissenting since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign'.<sup>14</sup>

How far do these assertions stand up to further scrutiny with regard to Herefordshire? The dearth of offenders in the records is undeniable. Scory's list to the Privy Council in 1564 consisted of only eight esquires or gentlemen and four members of the common council in Hereford who 'be certeine thought to have masseis in their houseis, ... come very seldome or not at all to churche (and) never received the communion since the Quenes majesties raigne', and in addition just fifty-two people were presented to the archidiaconal courts for not attending church or not receiving the communion between 1560 and 1573.<sup>15</sup>

*Table 2(i) Number of cases of not frequenting church or not receiving the communion presented to the ecclesiastical courts 1560 – 1573*

Date	Number of offences
1560/1	14
1561/2	2
1562/3	2
1563/4	5
1564/5	5
1565/6	No data <sup>16</sup>
1566/7	1
1566	1
1567/8	3
1568/9	No data
1569/70	No data
1570/1	8
1571/2	7
1572/3	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>52</b>

However, it is unlikely that the low numbers presented to Herefordshire's ecclesiastical courts were down to ill-educated administrators. The principal official at this time, Edward Threlkeld, was a doctor of law. He was probably a deliberate appointment by Scory, as Walter Jones, whom Threlkeld succeeded early in 1563, lived on as a canon

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 330-331. Similar views were expressed by Haigh in 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', pp. 48, 51.

<sup>15</sup> TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), pp. 11-23; pp. 19-20; HAS HD4/1/135, Acts of Office 1560-1561; HAS HD4/1/145, Acts of Office 1572-1573.

<sup>16</sup> There are no volumes at the Herefordshire Record Office for the years marked 'no data'.

residentiary and ‘chaunter’ at the cathedral until 1573.<sup>17</sup> Threlkeld was not one of the ‘rancke papistes’ described by the bishop but had good Protestant credentials.<sup>18</sup> The preamble to his will revealed that he ‘firmely (believed) himself to be saved and delivered from the wroth due for his sins by the bludd of Jhesus Christ shed uppon the cross uppon whiche hee bare our curse and cancelled that bond that was laid uppon the sonnes of Adam of his meere grace and mercy’, and Scory recognised this conviction, commending him as one who ‘for the favoure which (he) beare(s) to this religion ... (is) mete to be called to be iustices’.<sup>19</sup> Threlkeld was also a hardworking man, present at almost every archidiaconal court between 1561 and 1573 and at most courts throughout the remainder of the 1570s.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Threlkeld’s ‘painefull travelles ... in the due execucon of his office’ came in for special notice by the Privy Council.<sup>21</sup> The records of his courts further testify to a well-organised and efficient team. Each volume, one per year, is organised by deanery; each deanery section is carefully headed with the location and date of the court and the name of the ‘venerable doctor of law’ who was sitting; each entry is detailed and written in a neat, careful script.<sup>22</sup> Business followed a more or less regular order, generally opening with *ex teste* (from the testament) cases, going on to immorality cases interspersed with the very occasional religious case and ending with copies of a small number of wills. Record-keeping like this, as Helmholz commented, says ‘something about the self-confidence of its officers’.<sup>23</sup>

Arguably, too, Threlkeld’s team had a good knowledge of their area. Houlbrooke thought a court’s workload too large and the speed of transit round the deaneries too great for

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<sup>17</sup> HAS HD4/1/137, Acts of Office 1562-1563; TNA prob11/125, The Will of Walter Jones 14 February 1573.

<sup>18</sup> TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> TNA prob11/73, The Will of Edward Threlkeld 22 June 1588; TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> HAS HD4/1/135, Acts of Office 1560-1561 to HAS HD4/1/148, Acts of Office 1579-1580.

<sup>21</sup> Letter to the Bishop of London 16 February 1566, reproduced in J. R. Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, VII, 1558-1570 (London, 1893), pp. 330-331.

<sup>22</sup> The handwriting in the records remained the same from 1560 to 1573.

<sup>23</sup> R. H. Helmholz, *Roman Canon Law in Reformation England* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 42.

officials to have more than a superficial view of the life of each parish.<sup>24</sup> Yet, although individuals must sometimes have slipped through the net, it would be a mistake to underestimate the court's effectiveness.<sup>25</sup> The registrar was a public notary with a knowledge of parish affairs that came from writing out the details of each court case – recording, for example, who appeared or did not appear, whether there was a confession, what the judgement was, whether the case was dismissed or deferred to the next court – as well as from sending out questions to churchwardens in advance of court visitations and preparing the Acts book on the basis of churchwardens' answers or presentments.<sup>26</sup> He had further contact with parishioners via his apparitors, or messengers of the courts, who were out and about in the parishes citing to court executors of wills and those who had committed offences, informing churchwardens of any offenders against church law who had moved into their parish, and sending lists of recusants or other heretics to the bishop.<sup>27</sup> Herefordshire's apparitors can be presumed to have known their areas well, as the records show them working for long periods in the same deaneries. Thomas Yeworthe, for example, is named as the apparitor in the Leominster deanery from the early 1570s up to 1582, and in the Hereford deanery in 1592.<sup>28</sup> He was no doubt a local man (Yerworthe, with its variants Yerward, Yerroth, Yerrot and Yerratt, was a local name), and this, and that his fees depended on successfully carrying out his functions, must have sharpened his awareness of what was happening in his area.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Houlbrooke, *Church courts and the people*, p. 258.

<sup>25</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 323.

<sup>26</sup> R. O'Day, 'The role of the registrar in diocesan administration', in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds.), *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration in the Church of England, 1500-1642* (Leicester, 1976), pp. 77-94, pp. 78-79, 92-93.

<sup>27</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 62; R. A. Marchant, *The Church under the Law* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> HAS HD4/1/144A, Acts of Office 1571-1572 to HAS HD4/1/149, Acts of Office 1581-1582; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595.

<sup>29</sup> Marchant, *The Church under the Law*, p. 32. A Phillip Yerratt was churchwarden at Madley in Hereford deanery in 1579; a Phillip Yerroth was presented at the church court from Little Dewchurch in Archenfield deanery in 1602, and a William and Joan Yerrott were presented from Eaton Bishop in Hereford deanery in 1611; HAS BK52/34; HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1601-1602; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613. Yeworthe wills from Archenfield, Weobley and Frome deaneries are recorded at Hereford between 1407 and 1550; M.A. Faraday, *Calendar of Probate and Administration Acts 1407-1550 in the Consistory Court of the*

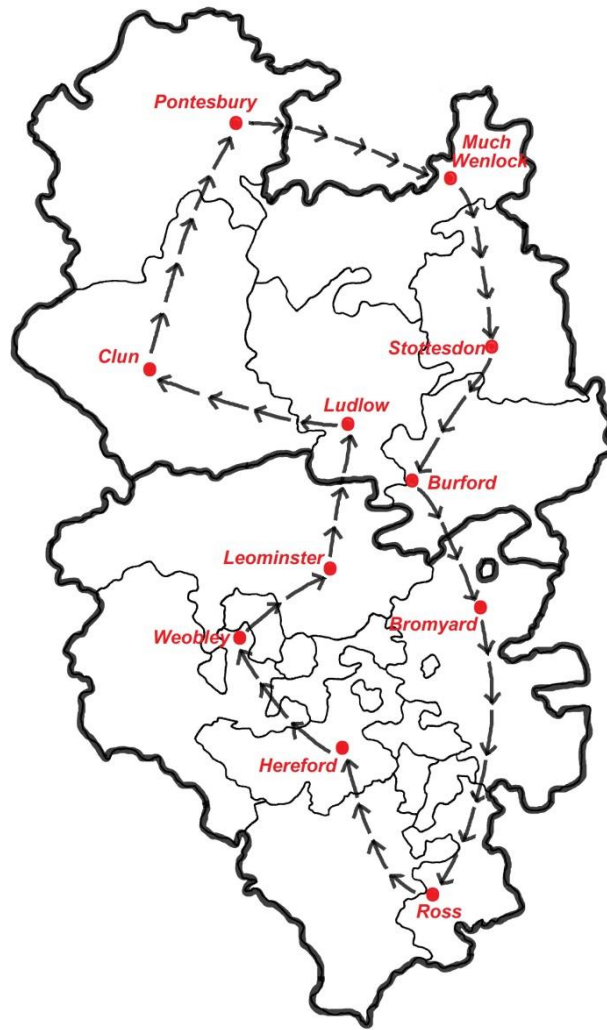
Furthermore, the court's routine itinerary made it relatively easy for parishioners to present their concerns. The chancellor and his entourage set off from Hereford city every autumn, held court for a day, first at Weobley church, and then proceeded to the principal churches of the remaining deaneries in a set order. The circuit took two to three weeks and was repeated at least once, and sometimes several times, during the legal year. Deferred cases were held in the cathedral between May and July.<sup>30</sup>

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*Bishops of Hereford* (Almeley, 2008). Apparitors were not necessarily reliable. Thomas Carwarden, named as an apparitor in Stretton in 1613, for example, was presented in 1618 for 'giving entertainment oftentimes' to notorious recusant Jane Cadwallador. Much more frequent, however, are mentions of apparitors summoning people to court or presenting people directly for religious offences – thus, the apparitor Henry Hearing 'introduced' Jane Cadwallador and her husband to the court as recusants in 1625; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>30</sup> Faraday, *Calendar of Probate and Administration Acts*, pp. xiv-xv.

*Map V The route of the archdeacon's court round the diocese in 1562<sup>31</sup>*



The grumble of the churchwardens of Tedstone Delamere, a small parish in the north east corner of the Frome deanery on the Worcestershire border, made in 1621 when the court was no longer itinerant but held always in Hereford cathedral, suggests this earlier easy access had been appreciated. The two wardens ‘prayed God ... that (their) court may be kept at Bromyard within the deanery as hath been accustomed (so that they did not have) to travel to

<sup>31</sup> The church court in 1562, for example, was held first in Weobley parish church on 5 October, in Leominster on 6 October, Ludlow on 7 October, Clun on 9 October, Pontesbury on 10 October, Much Wenlock on 12 October, Stottesdon on 13 October, Burford on 14 October, Bromyard on 15 October and then Ross (for the deanery of Archenfield) on 19 October; HAS HD4/1/137, Acts of Office 1562-1563. The map is based on Faraday, *Calendar of Probate and Administration Acts*, p. xxx.

Hereford for every small cause and that sometimes in the chief time of their harvest as now and in the dead time of winter'.<sup>32</sup>

Yet whether the dearth of recusants in the 1560s and early 1570s was due to the reluctance of churchwardens to present their neighbours, as Smith suggested, is in the end unknowable. It is possible that the people presented were only those who had not paid the 12d. fine that churchwardens were enjoined to levy 'to the use of the poore of the ... parish' on absentees from church under the provision of the 1559 Act of Uniformity.<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to make a judgement as these fines are mentioned only three times in Herefordshire's records during this period, and on two of the occasions the fines seem to have been collected by the court itself. One instance was recorded at the Bishop's court in 1574 when William Wodd of Bromyard 'was fined 4s. for the poor of Bosbury because he confessed his fault of absence from church', and another in 1577 when Thomas Farley of Bosbury paid the court 12d. for one absence.<sup>34</sup> The only record which shows the churchwardens trying to collect in their own parish comes from Bodenham in 1575 when John Hader, smith, was presented by the wardens who stated that he 'had not attended church many times (and) nor will he pay the xijd. for every default'. Hader's case ended with his confessing to two Sundays' absence and paying the court 2s.<sup>35</sup> The extent to which the fine for absence from church was being collected is thus unclear: nonetheless if significant numbers of people were paying the fine it is hard to imagine this not coming to the court's attention.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621.

<sup>33</sup> F. X. Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants 1581-1603* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University College of London, 1961), pp. 6-7. Walker pointed out that Royal Injunctions in 1559 reinforced the intention that absentees would be presented to the courts only if they consistently failed to pay such fines to the churchwardens.

<sup>34</sup> HAS HD4/1/144B, Bishop's court 1574-1575 and 1577-1578.

<sup>35</sup> HAS HD4/1/144B, Bishop's court 1574-1575.

<sup>36</sup> Walker notes that in 1581 the 12d. fine was thought to have been disregarded in many places; Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, p. 146.

Scrutiny of the outcomes of cases of not frequenting church or not receiving the communion that were presented to the courts further suggests the low number of presentments was an accurate reflection of what was happening in the parishes.

*Table 2(ii) Number of cases of not frequenting church or not receiving the communion presented to the ecclesiastical courts 1560 – 1573/4 and their outcomes*

Date	Offences presented to the archidiaconal courts	Outcome unknown	Monition dismissal or	Successful purgation	Order to do penance	Excommunication
1560/1	14	6	4	3	1	0
1561/2	2	1	1	0	0	0
1562/3	2	1	0	1	0	0
1563/4	5	1	1	0	0	3
1564/5	5	0	5	0	0	0
1565/6	No data	-	-	-	-	-
1566/7	1	0	0	1	0	0
1566	1	0	1	0	0	0
1567/8	3	2	0	0	0	1
1568/9	No data	-	-	-	-	-
1569/70	No data	-	-	-	-	-
1570/1	8	3	1	2	2	0
1571/2	7	1	3	0	1	2
1572/3	4	3	1	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>

As shown on table 2(ii), between 1560 and 1574, where outcomes are known (thirty-four out of fifty-two cases), the more severe punishments of penance and excommunication were given in only ten cases. Penance was a humiliating procedure which entailed the wrongdoer making a public confession in church, clad only in a white sheet and carrying a candle, and was not regarded lightly, causing some even to break down and weep, and excommunication was a sanction with particular force for householders as it meant that the offender was excluded from the church community, which played a central role in early modern life in the parishes.<sup>37</sup> Over two-thirds of the offenders in this period were warned or dismissed, or, having denied the charge they successfully brought in compurgators, ‘honest neighbours’ of

<sup>37</sup> Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts*, p. 11; M. Ingram, ‘Puritans and the Church Courts’, in C. Durstan and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 58-91, pp. 65-66; Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 3, 111.



the same sex and social standing as themselves who testified to their conformity.<sup>38</sup> None of these people re-appeared in the records.

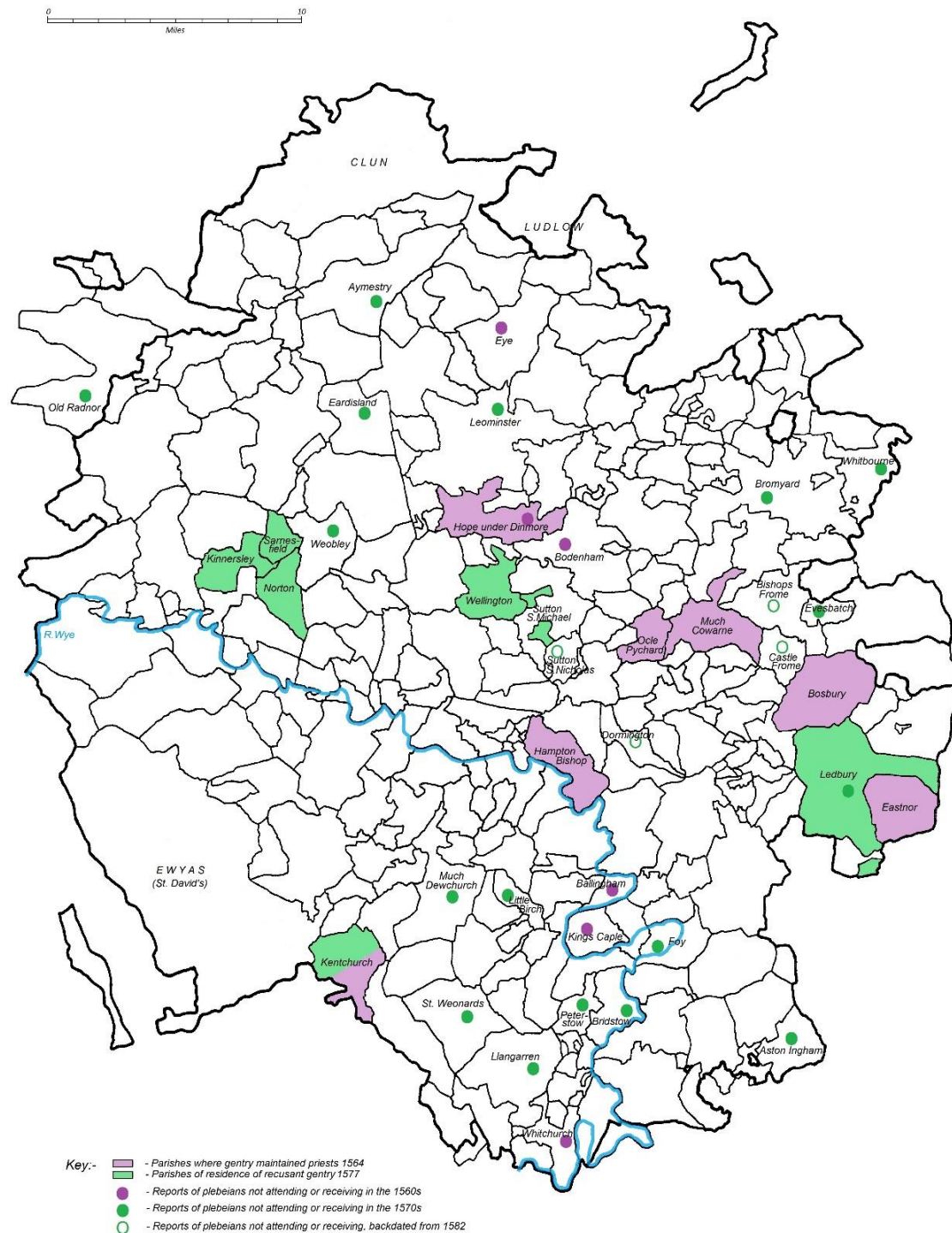
Of course this emphasis on more lenient punishments might also flow from an ‘Elizabethan regime (which) tried to avoid provoking ... resistance’.<sup>39</sup> But another reasonable test, if Smith were correct that the teachings of the ex-Marian priests caused more extensive recusancy in Herefordshire than historians have previously acknowledged, would be evidence of absence from church among gentry servants, tenants, or parishioners who lived near the houses of those Scory named as harbouring priests. This was not the case, as Map VI shows.

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<sup>38</sup> Objections to compurgation were also invited as an extra guarantee of the compurgators’ truthfulness; when no compurgators were forthcoming, the accused was proclaimed guilty; Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>39</sup> Haigh, ‘The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, p. 50.

*Map VI: Parishes where gentry harboured priests in 1564 and where recusant gentry were reported in 1577, and parishes where plebeians were presented for Catholic offences in the 1560s and 1570s*



Just one rural parish had both a known gentleman harbourer of priests and presentments of plebeians to the ecclesiastical court for Catholic-type offences. This was Hope-under-Dinmore where William Berington, esquire, was named in 1564.<sup>40</sup> However, the presentments of the plebeians Richard Phellips of Hope-under-Dinmore and Francis Dewell, ‘lately of Hope’, were made nine months earlier than the arrival of John Blaxton and his fellow priests in August 1564 so the likelihood of a direct connection is remote.<sup>41</sup> Similarly the two men named in the market town of Ledbury in 1564 pre-dated Scory’s identification of the gentry Anthony Elton and his wife in 1577.<sup>42</sup> Of course, gentry may have affected those beyond their own parishes. John Spicer, for example, was presented for recusancy by the churchwardens and sidesmen of Castle Frome in 1582 but they admitted that he had been a recusant ‘for vj yeares space’, that is since 1576.<sup>43</sup> He may thus have been supported by Mr Thomas Berington in the nearby parish of Much Cowarne or by Mr Richard Harford at Bosbury, both of whom had been named as maintainers of priests in 1564.<sup>44</sup> Yet the overall pattern suggests that if the fifty-two individuals presented to the courts between 1560 and 1573 were making a stand against the new religious settlement, they were making it not only briefly but also in isolation from any strictures promoted by Blaxton et alia which might have reached them via gentry Catholics.

Other aspects of church life in Herefordshire accord more with Walker’s conclusion that ‘the political and theological climate’ of the 1560s and early 1570s could not produce ‘an

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<sup>40</sup> TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564*, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> HAS HD4/1/135, Acts of Office 1560-1561; TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564*, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), pp. 19-20. On their arrival the priests were ‘fested and magnified ... throwe the streetes (of Hereford) with torchlights’.

<sup>42</sup> TNA SP 12/118, ff. 17-18, Bishop Scory to the Council, 2 November 1577; HAS HD4/1/136, Acts of Office 1564-1565. The two named in 1564 were William Walton of Netherton, a township lying four miles east of Ledbury, and Hugh Heywood, who may have been a gentleman - gentry Heywoods were presented at Ledbury in 1605; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>43</sup> HAS HD5/7/5, Bishop’s Visitation 1582.

<sup>44</sup> TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1564, reproduced in M. Bateson (ed.), *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council 1564*, *Camden Miscellany*, 9 (1895), pp. 19-20.

attitude of mind ... (that) refused openly and repeatedly to go to church' than with Smith's notion of 'quiet dissent since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign'.<sup>45</sup> As Haigh argued, the habit of attendance was deeply engrained in the minds of contemporaries, the church played a key role in parish decision-making, and communal loyalties to the church were strong.<sup>46</sup> In Herefordshire's churches, as elsewhere, enough links to the Catholic past remained in place to make them 'tolerable substitute(s) for ... (their) medieval predecessor(s)'.<sup>47</sup> The decreed structural adjustments to the buildings were carried out only slowly. At Llangarren in Archenfield, for example, a note in the parish register states that the roodscreen was still in place in 1569.<sup>48</sup> Madley, a few miles south-west of Hereford, retained its rood-loft in 1573, had the frame for the communion table made as late as 1574 and the religious pictures on the walls first 'whited' in 1581.<sup>49</sup> And in the seventeenth-century at Sugwas, part of Eaton Bishop parish and just across the river Wye from Madley, the chapel of St Thomas Cantilupe, Herefordshire's miracle-working saint, was still standing, with stained glass depicting the saint and a 'large altar-stone reared up against the wall and a great chair of wood almost ruyned with age where St Thomas did use to sit, as tradition informs us'.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, until 1576 the Madley churchbells were being rung each year 'on alhallon night' in remembrance of the dead, and parishioners were also paying 'loddinge' money at Easter, suggesting that Catholic beliefs in the need to ease one's passage to heaven were at least lingering in their minds.<sup>51</sup> Some of Herefordshire's clergy, also, clearly took an ambivalent attitude to the

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<sup>45</sup> Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, p. 31; Smith, 'The Origins of Recusancy in Elizabethan England Reconsidered', pp. 330-331.

<sup>46</sup> Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, p. 247.

<sup>47</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> HAS AC74/1 Llangarren General Register 1569-1633.

<sup>49</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book.

<sup>50</sup> Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 122; Reeves, *The 1675 Thomas Blount Manuscript History of Herefordshire*, pp. 63-64. The glass is now in St Mary's Ross; A. Brooks and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (New Haven, CT, 2012), pp. 570-571.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 'Loddinge' means journeying. The word is derived from the Old English 'lode' or 'load', a journey; W. Little, H. W. Fowler and J. Coulson, *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford, 1973), p. 1231. The sense here is that parishioners were paying towards their own journey through Purgatory to heaven. In 1575 ringing on All Hallows was also reported at Monkland, Almeley, Kenchester and Dewshall, and bells for the dead were rung at Bosbury in 1577; HAS HD4/1/144B, Bishop's Court 1574-1575 and 1577-1578.

Elizabethan settlement. As Marshall and Morgan have recently emphasised, although there were Marian clergy who had been deprived of their livings early in Elizabeth's reign, fewer men than previously thought subscribed fully to the oath of 1559, which required recognition of the queen's supreme governorship of the church, and there was a general reluctance on the part of the authorities to punish dissidents.<sup>52</sup> In 1574 the vicar of Much Cowarne was wearing his cope to administer the sacrament, at Bosbury in the same year the vicar was 'mynysteryng with breade having prynte upon hit contrary to the queens majes' iniunctions', and as late as 1586 Bishop Herbert Westfaling found it necessary to ask in his visitation articles for the Hereford diocese whether any parson, vicar, curate or minister 'wilfully maintain or defend any heresies, false opinions or popish errors'.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, it needs to be noted for the period prior to 1574 that the recusant gentry named by Scory were not presented to the courts by their parishes. Indeed, very few gentry were mentioned in connection with any kinds of case, apart from the occasional gentry will copied into the record book. The courts were preoccupied with the affairs of ordinary parishioners - fornication, adultery, pregnancies out of wedlock, the sorting out of probate, and problems arising from the wills of the dead. The court of Archenfield deanery in 1562/3, for example, where later there was a concentration of Catholics, was typical, with thirty-three immorality cases, twenty-five probate cases, two cases of clandestine marriage, and just two cases of 'not frequenting church on Sundays and feast days'.<sup>54</sup> Such concerns were characteristic of the much of the country in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Thus Wark reported that the (admittedly scanty) visitation records for Cheshire dealt with sexual offences

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<sup>52</sup> P. Marshall and J. Morgan, 'Clerical conformity and the Elizabethan settlement revisited', *Historical Journal*, 59 (2016), pp. 1-22, pp. 15-16.

<sup>53</sup> HAS HD4/1/144B, Bishop's Court 1574-1575; W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration and Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1583-1603* (London, 1924), p. clxxxiii. At Munslow, in Shropshire, the parson, Roger Stedman, was still administering the sacrament with 'singing bread' as late as 1601, HAS HD4/1/211, Acts of Office 1599-1601, Archdeaconry of Ludlow.

<sup>54</sup> HAS HD4/1/137, Acts of Office 1562-1563.

and church repairs and were not preoccupied with recusancy, while Ingram noted that the church courts did not start dealing with stubborn recusancy until about 1575.<sup>55</sup>

The situation in Herefordshire began to change in the second half of the 1570s. This was not immediately reflected in the records of the archdeacon's court where the number of people presented for not attending church or not receiving the communion remained low, but higher numbers people were presented at the Bishop's court in 1574/5, and again in 1577/8, a year when Scory also sent a list of forty-eight Catholics 'as refuse to comme to Churche' to the Privy Council.<sup>56</sup>

*Table 2(iii) Number of cases of not frequenting church or not receiving the communion presented to the ecclesiastical courts 1570-1580 and at the Bishop's courts 1570 – 1580*

Date	Number of offences at archidiaconal courts	Number of offences at Bishop's courts
1570/1	8	0
1571/2	7	0
1572/3	4	0
1573/4	No data	1
1574/5	No data	24
1575/6	3	6
1576/7	No data	0
1577/8	2	17
1578/9	No data	0
1579/80	2	-

The numbers at the Bishop's court may well reflect a genuine increase in offenders: Herefordshire's Catholics, in line with Catholics across the country, had perhaps begun to separate from the Church of England in response to the pope's excommunication of the queen in 1570 and the arrival of the first seminary priests in 1574. Contemporaries later identified 1570 as a 'watershed year' for Catholic recusancy, and Sir Walter Mildmay, in a 'vehement' speech to Parliament in 1581, referred to the whole of the 1570s as years when those who

<sup>55</sup> K. R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire* (Manchester, 1971), p. 5; Ingram, 'Puritanism and the Church Courts', p. 71.

<sup>56</sup> TNA SP 12/118, ff. 17-18, Bishop Scory to the Council 2 November 1577. Two of the forty-eight were Hereford merchants, three were priests and three were of yeoman status; the remainder were gentry.

used to ‘yield and conform themselves ... (now) do utterly refuse to be of our church’.<sup>57</sup> Over thirty years later Edward Coke, similarly, dated the increase in Catholic non-attendance at church to the year of the bull, declaring at the trial of the Jesuit Henry Garnet that ‘until (1570) all Papists came to our church and service without scruple ... and the name recusant was never heard among us’.<sup>58</sup>

Scory was present at the 1571, 1572 and 1576 sessions of Parliament where the bishops were urging bills which would have enabled these courts to insist on quarterly attendance at church and to impose higher fines on those who offended.<sup>59</sup> The bill that was eventually passed in 1581 empowered the secular, not the ecclesiastical, courts but the Privy Council still intended bishops to take action, as was made clear in a letter to the Bishop of Chester written on 28 May 1581.<sup>60</sup> A year later the Council sent letters to all the bishops requiring them to return certificates ‘of all such persons as sithe th’ende of the last Session of Parliament refuse to come to churche and being thereof lawfully convicted, doe nevertheless not conforme themselves’.<sup>61</sup> Scory’s response was a visitation of the diocese which focused almost entirely on looking for Catholics.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, p. 120.

<sup>58</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 10.

<sup>59</sup> Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, pp. 32-36; House of Lords, *Journals of the House of Lords*, I (London, 1846), pp. 667-702, 705-712, 731-732. The bishops were attempting to push an anti-Catholic focus to the forefront of royal politics but lost out to those whose focus was anti-puritan; this struggle was identified by P. Lake and M. Questier, ‘A Tale of Two Episcopal Surveys: the Strange Fates of Edmund Grindal and Cuthbert Mayne Revisited’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), pp. 129-163, 162; P. Lake and M. Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), pp. 587-627, pp. 587-592. The first bill was vetoed by the queen and the second, pressed for by Edmund Grindal, got no further than a first reading.

<sup>60</sup> Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, pp. 152-154.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

<sup>62</sup> As well as the 1582 diocesan visitation Scory successfully obtained a commission for a visitation of the cathedral, where his former attempts to visit had been resisted. This was conducted by the Bishop of Worcester and resulted in new statutes which provided for a weekly sermon and regular biblical lectures; G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral, a history* (London, 2000), pp. 93-94.

**Table 2(iv) Number of cases of not frequenting church or not receiving communion presented to the ecclesiastical courts 1581-3 and at Scory's 1582 visitation**

Deanery	1581/2 archidiaconal court	Spring 1582 visitation	1582/3 archidiaconal court
Weobley	5	36	1
Leominster	14	45	13
Frome	0	43	0
Weston	0	22	0
Ross	1	7 but record incomplete	0
Archenfield	0	No record survives	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>14</b>

It is striking that Scory's court found many more non-attenders and non-communicants than did the archidiaconal courts around this time, and his visitation numbers would doubtless have been higher still were it not for the absence of figures for most of the Ross and all of the Archenfield deanery parishes. There were probably complicated reasons for the lack of response by the archdeacon's court to the changing situation. Perhaps, in part, the routines of both officials and presenters had become entrenched. Perhaps, too, the 'manie and great sicknesses' which Edward Threlkeld was later to refer to in his will had their effect.<sup>63</sup> Although Threlkeld was still in place as principal official in September 1582, by November his work was being carried out by deputies, and in early 1583 he had been replaced by a George Dawkes.<sup>64</sup> Scory's court, also, summoned several representatives from every parish. Presentments at the archidiaconal courts usually came from churchwardens or apparitors but at Scory's 1582 visitation each parish was required to send the minister, two churchwardens and at least two parishioners. The visitation entry for Kinnersley in Weobley deanery is typical, stating the attendance of 'Thomas Carpenter, rector; *gardiani* (churchwardens) William Howls, John Mathews, *jurati* (sworn); *parochiani* (parishioners) William Esbach, William Philpottes *jurati*'.<sup>65</sup> The note '*jurati*' written in the visitation record next to each pair of churchwardens and group of parishioners further underlines the

<sup>63</sup> TNA prob/11/73, The Will of Edward Threlkeld 22 June 1588. Threlkeld must have died shortly afterwards as probate was granted in November 1588.

<sup>64</sup> HAS HD4/1/150, Acts of Office 1582-1583.

<sup>65</sup> HAS HD5/7/4, Bishop's Visitation 1582.



seriousness of the occasion. An oath was of great significance in early modern society, its power reinforced in the 'Homilies appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth I' which stated that a perjurer would be condemned on the day of judgement 'to everlasting shame and death'.<sup>66</sup>

It may also have been the case that significant numbers of people had been concealed from the archidiaconal courts in the late 1570s and early 1580s, and that Scory only found more non-attenders and non-communicants 'because he was looking'.<sup>67</sup> One difference, clearly, was that just over a quarter of the recusants (39/153) presented at Scory's 1582 visitation were gentry and their households, and as noted above, gentry had been largely ignored by the archidiaconal courts in the 1560s and 1570s. But it is hard to imagine that the gentry recusants found by Scory had not been known to parishioners. The churchwardens had certainly known at Dormington, where those presenting at the bishop's visitation in 1582 stated that Richard Lingen, esquire, his wife, daughter and two servants had not been to church since 1579.<sup>68</sup> Even this may not have been accurate: four years earlier Richard Lingen and his wife confessed to the bishop that they had not frequented church or received the communion for a year and said they had dealt with the purification of Mrs Lingen after childbirth at home where 'she her selfe gave thanks'.<sup>69</sup> The Seabournes at Sutton St Michael and the Monningtons at Sarnesfield had also almost certainly been recusants since at least 1577 when John Seabourne and Richard Monnington had been included on the bishop's list of those who refused to attend church, and at Wigmore, where the Croft household were recusants in 1582, the sheriff fined Thomas Croft for recusancy from 1579.<sup>70</sup> Possibly the several dozen people of non-gentry status presented at Scory's visitation were also known

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<sup>66</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 44-45; E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 17-18.

<sup>67</sup> Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', p. 50.

<sup>68</sup> HAS HD5/7/4, Bishop's Visitation 1582.

<sup>69</sup> HAS HD4/1/146, Acts of Office 1575-1576.

<sup>70</sup> TNA SP 12/118, ff. 17-18, Bishop Scory to the Council 2 November 1577; H. Bowler and T. J. McCann (eds.), *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, 1581-1592* (Wolsingham, 1986), p. 45; HAS HD5/7/5, Bishop's Visitation 1582.

about when their churchwardens went to the archidiaconal courts a few months earlier, even though only five individuals had their recusancy backdated.<sup>71</sup> However, the remarks of contemporaries like Mildmay and Coke, mentioned above, and parallels with other parts of the country, make it more likely that these people were moving slowly into recusancy than that there was a great deal of deliberate concealment. Thus, a small group of plebeians who appeared before the Ecclesiastical Commission in York in 1570 had not communicated or attended services for ‘two or three years’ and Margaret Aldersey, who had been presented for using a Latin primer in church in 1570, was not listed as a recusant until 1577.<sup>72</sup> Dickens came to the same conclusion from his detailed examination of both the consistory court and the York Commission data, finding little plebeian recusancy until 1575, the beginnings of a movement in 1577, and a steady increase to 1582 under the influence of priests.<sup>73</sup>

Given the national situation by this time it is not surprising that Scory’s visitation was thorough. The Jesuits Campion and Persons had entered the country in 1580 and their campaign became a ‘full frontal public challenge to the Elizabethan state’s construal of the Catholic issue’, placing church attendance at the centre of the dispute.<sup>74</sup> The ‘polemical and emotional temperature’ of the nation rose – indeed, Walsham has described these years as ‘apocalyptic’ and the nation as in the grip of ‘moral panic’.<sup>75</sup> Persons himself visited Herefordshire sometime between July and October 1580 and in December 1581 there is evidence of repercussions in the city when a letter from the Privy Council to the Council in the Marches cited Mr John Breynton of Stretton for using ‘certaine lewde speeches in the

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<sup>71</sup> HAS HD5/7/5, Bishop’s Visitation 1582. These were Margary Pewtresse of Dormington, the same parish as the Lingens, and Thomas Mapen of Sutton St Nicholas, both absent since 1580, Richard Perkes and his wife of Bishop’s Frome who had not been to church since 1579, and John Spicer of Castle Frome who had been absent ‘for vij yeres space’.

<sup>72</sup> Haigh, ‘The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, pp. 47-48; Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, p. 12.

<sup>73</sup> A. G. Dickens, ‘The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560-1590’, *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 35 (1943), pp. 157-181, pp. 160, 169-178.

<sup>74</sup> Lake and Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists and the Public Sphere’, pp. 605, 608.

<sup>75</sup> A. Walsham, ‘This New Army of Satan: the Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion’, in D. Lemmings and C. Walker (eds.), *Moral Panics, the Press and the Law in Early Modern England* (London, 2009), pp. 41-62, pp. 46, 52

maintenance of Campion the seditious Jesuite' whilst at dinner with Walter Hardman, the mayor. Breynton was gaoled but later granted bail.<sup>76</sup>

Thus, notwithstanding Smith's assertion that there may have been more recusants in Herefordshire in the 1560s and 1570s than historians have previously acknowledged, and that official sources were unreliable, the evidence of the archidiaconal courts that recusancy was not a significant problem in these decades can probably be trusted.<sup>77</sup> The principal official Edward Threlkeld had both good Protestant credentials and the confidence of Bishop John Scory. He was notoriously industrious, and with his well-organised team, can reasonably be assumed to have had a good working knowledge of the deaneries. In the 1560s recusancy was certainly not enough of a concern to jolt the court from its long-established focus on the secular and testamentary affairs of ordinary parishioners. From the parishioners' point of view the lingering of Catholic customs in their churches and the practices of their clergy may have helped to make church attendance acceptable. However, the state of affairs changed markedly after the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570 and the arrival of the first seminary priests in 1574, and by the late 1570s recusant numbers were rising. Scory's uneasiness about the changes was reflected in his support for proposed anti-Catholic bills in Parliament and culminated in a thorough visitation of his diocese in 1582 which revealed a marked increase of offenders who were not attending church or receiving the communion. A significant proportion of the increase was a result of ordinary parishioners breaking with tradition and presenting their social superiors for the first time. Some of these newly presented gentry and their household members had undoubtedly been recusants for a number of years, as had a handful of those of below gentry status, and the several dozen individuals

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<sup>76</sup> Stonyhurst Collectanea P, I, ff. 222-233, 225, reproduced in J. H. Pollen, (ed.), The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, *Catholic Record Society*, 2, Miscellanea II (London, 1906), pp. 12-218, p. 27; A Letter to the Counsell in the Marches touching John Brenton of Stratton in the Countie of Hereford, 30 August 1581, reproduced in Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, XII, 1580-81 (London, 1896), p. 193.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, 'The Origins of Recusancy in Elizabethan England Reconsidered', p. 330.

presented to the bishop must at the very least have been concealed from Threlkeld's court a few months earlier. Nonetheless, the shift in their outward actions is likely to have been fairly recent, a response to the changing political arguments of the times.

### **1586 - 1605: the drive against recusants**

Unfortunately, there is a gap in the surviving archidiaconal court records from the summer of 1584 to May 1586, and by the time records resume Scory was dead and the new bishop, Herbert Westfaling, had been in place for just four months.<sup>78</sup> Nonetheless, despite the new bishop, when the records started again in the summer of 1586 they suggest a degree of confusion at the courts, with no clear division of deaneries and parishes in muddled order.<sup>79</sup> There was no real improvement in quality until Francis Bevans took over as principal official in January 1587. At this time, a fresh book was started, headings added showing clear organisation by deanery, cases again grouped by parish and scrappy entries increasingly replaced by longer ones, separated by spaces that suggests pre-court preparation.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> John Scory died on 25 June 1585; Pettegree, 'Scory, John (*d.* 1585)'; M. E. Speight, 'Westfaling, Herbert (1531/2–1602)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>79</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587.

<sup>80</sup> HAS HD4/1/153, Acts of Office 1587-1588.

Figure 2(i) The contrast in records before and after the arrival of Francis Bevens as principal official: May 1586 (above) and May 1587 (below)

Handwritten Latin text, likely a legal or official record, dated May 1586. The text is written in a cursive script and is organized into several paragraphs. The first paragraph begins with "Dignetur..." and the second with "Dignetur...". The text is written on a single page with a vertical fold visible on the right side.

Handwritten Latin text, likely a legal or official record, dated May 1587. The text is written in a cursive script and is organized into several paragraphs. The first paragraph begins with "Dignetur..." and the second with "Dignetur...". The text is written on a single page with a vertical fold visible on the right side.

More significant than the improved organisation, however, was the change of emphasis in the business of the court. In 1587/8 this change was in particularly stark contrast to previous decades: now references to sexual morals were infrequent, testamentary cases virtually disappeared and church repairs were almost entirely limited to eradicating signs of Catholicism. Religious affairs dominated. Entry after entry reflected Westfaling's first visitation articles which were designed to root out any clergy or parishioners who were not complying with the terms of the Elizabethan religious settlement.<sup>81</sup> The most frequent entries echoed article forty-five which asked 'whether there be any that refuse to come to Divine Service in their parish church or chapel, or do not frequent the same, or do not ... communicate thrice a year at least'. Some parishes specified for the first time in the records of Herefordshire's archidiaconal courts that those listed were 'recusants', and occasionally there was a note that the recusants had been detected '*de novo*' (newly).<sup>82</sup> Westfaling found similar numbers of offenders to those found by Scory four years earlier.

**Table 2(v) Number of cases of not frequenting church, not receiving communion or of recusancy presented to the ecclesiastical courts 1587/8 and at Scory's 1582 visitation**

Deanery	Spring 1582 visitation	1587/8 archdeacon's courts
Weobley	36	23
Leominster	45	29
Frome	43	53
Weston	22	23
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>128</b>
Ross	7 but record incomplete	7
Archenfield	No record survives	89
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>224</b>

<sup>81</sup> Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, p. clxxxiii. Parishes reported, for example, 'lackeing quarter sermons' contrary to article seven, not having the Great English Bible contrary to article thirty-one, not certifying the 'defacyng of the alters and whiteing the place where the same alter stood' required by article thirty-two.

<sup>82</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587. Recusants were detected '*de novo*' at St Devereux, Garway and Orcop in the Archenfield diocese. The term recusant was first used by ecclesiastical commissioners in 1561 to describe certain Marian clergy who rejected the new Protestant regime in its entirety but came into more general use to denote laity who refused to attend Church of England services in the 1570s; Sheils, 'The Catholic Community', p. 255.

Furthermore, almost all the people named, where outcomes of cases were recorded, were dealt with severely. In the Leominster deanery, for example, out of twenty-four people who did not frequent church or receive the communion, all but one were excommunicated, and often '*excommunicatus ad graviora*' (that is, excommunicated to a more serious level), and in the eighty-six cases with a known outcome in Archenfield fifty-five people were labelled recusants and ninety per cent of the eighty-six were excommunicated.

*Table 2(vi) Outcomes of cases of not frequenting church, not receiving communion or of recusancy presented in the deaneries of Leominster and Archenfield, 1587/8*

Location	Offence	Number of offences	Outcome unknown	Monition or dismissal or absolution	Successful purgation	Excommunication	Penance
Leominster	not frequenting church	22	3	1 but dead	1	17	0
	not receiving communion	6	1	0	0	5	0
	not frequenting church + not receiving communion	1	0	0	0	1	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0</b>
Archenfield	not frequenting church	14	1	0	0	13	0
	not receiving communion	5	0	3	0	2	0
	not frequenting church + not receiving communion	15	1	2	0	12	0
	recusant	53	0	1	0	51	1
	not frequenting church + recusant	1	0	0	0	1	0
	not receiving communion + recusant	1	1	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>1</b>

If the writer of an anonymous report from Herefordshire to the Privy Council, who alleged under-reporting around this time, was correct, Westfaling's courts may well have missed some offenders. The report, referring mainly to the secular authorities, claimed that church patrons, juries, and constables were all implicated in failure to present Catholics of both gentry and non-gentry status.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> TNA SP 12/195, f. 86 December 1586, Statement of the causes of the increase of Recusants in the diocese of Hereford, with means how the number of them may be diminished, or at least stayed from increasing.

Westfaling's drive was nonetheless determined and accords with his reputation as a radical reformer: he was noted for 'his zeal in converting Roman Catholics'.<sup>84</sup> It took place in the context of fears that the Protestant regime might come to a sudden end were the queen to be assassinated, like William of Orange in 1584. Indeed, it seemed at this time that the entire Netherlands might fall to 'the hands of an aggressive Catholic government whose next target would surely be England.'<sup>85</sup> By 1586 the Babington conspiracy caused added alarm and Philip II of Spain threatened invasion via Scotland.<sup>86</sup> The focus of ecclesiastical courts across the whole country shifted to dealing with stubborn recusants.<sup>87</sup>

In the two years following Westfaling's 1587 visitation the number of people presented to the courts fell away, reflecting the cycle of court administration. Typically, bishops made a primary visitation in the first year of their office then sent out visitation articles at three-year intervals and the pressure for full presentment diminished in the intervening years. Those who were presented for Catholic-type offences whose cases were not immediately cleared up at the first court were often pursued through this three-year cycle.<sup>88</sup>

*Table 2(vii) Number of cases of not frequenting church, not receiving communion or of recusancy presented from selected deaneries from 1587 to 1590<sup>89</sup>*

Deanery	1587/8	1588/9	1589/90
Weobley	23	4	3
Leominster	28	8	6
Frome	53	48	9
Weston	No data	No data	No data
Ross	No data	No data	No data
Archenfield	89	18	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>26</b>

In Herefordshire the ways of the courts that had pertained under Threlkeld were to some extent reasserted in the non-visitation years. Although a list of those *excommunicatus*

<sup>84</sup> M. E. Speight, 'Westfaling, Herbert (1531/2–1602)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>85</sup> N. Younger, *War and Politics in the Elizabethan Counties* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 14, 19.

<sup>86</sup> A. Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642* (Harlow, 1983), p. 34.

<sup>87</sup> Ingram, 'Puritans and the Church courts', p. 71.

<sup>88</sup> For triennial visitations, see Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, p.iii.

<sup>89</sup> The volumes for these years are incomplete and there are no full records for Weston or Ross. The Dean's court volumes begin in 1592.



*ad graviora* for some offence or other headed the first entries for each of the deaneries, and the offences of not attending church or not receiving the communion were slightly more common than in earlier decades and were frequently given detailed entries, now other types of case dominated. In 1588/9 in the Frome deanery, for example, sixty-eight per cent of the cases were for sexual immorality and six per cent for not frequenting church, similar to the fifty-three per cent for sexual immorality and three per cent in the whole of the Archenfield deanery in 1562/3<sup>90</sup>

It is particularly unfortunate that there is a second gap in the records of the archidiaconal courts between 1590 and 1595 as this was again a period of heightened national concern about the ineffectiveness of the existing recusancy laws. In 1591 a royal proclamation called for a Commission for recusancy in every county and in the February/March 1593 Parliament there was a renewed fight for a fiercely anti-Catholic bill.<sup>91</sup> The two Acts that were finally introduced, however, ‘An Acte to retayne the Queen’s subjects in Obedyence’, which contained a clause against householders who shielded recusants, and ‘An Acte to restrain popish recusants to some certain places of abode’, which limited the movement of recusants to a five miles radius, were relatively mild.<sup>92</sup> Yet once the archdeacon’s records resume in 1595/6 it is clear from the tightening of organisational procedures that the drive against recusants begun in 1587 was continuing in Herefordshire.<sup>93</sup> There is a little evidence that, more often than previously, offending parishioners were expected to present the courts with certificates from the clergy which showed they had attended church or received the communion, and thus prove their conformity. In the Weobley deanery, for example, there is no record that such certificates were required in the

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<sup>90</sup> HAS HD4/1/137, Acts of Office 1562-1563; HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587.

<sup>91</sup> Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, pp. 306-7, 346-347.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 348-352.

<sup>93</sup> Such a tightening of procedures was typical of the country at the time; Helmholz, *Roman Canon Law*, p. 105. Helmholz notes that pressure had been put on churchwardens in the Hereford deanery in 1593 to present a ‘*billam trimestrem*’ (three-monthly bill).

first half of the 1580s but eight were asked for in 1598.<sup>94</sup> The old circuit round the deaneries was gradually replaced by courts held in Hereford cathedral, and from the start of the new term in September 1599 the courts of the northern and southern deaneries of the diocese were held completely separately. All the archidiaconal courts for the Shropshire deaneries of Clun, Burford, Pontesbury, Wenlock and Ludlow were held in the parish church at Ludlow. The courts for the Herefordshire deaneries of Weobley, Ross, Frome, Archenfield, Weston and Leominster were held in Hereford cathedral with the very occasional visit to the Priory at Leominster.<sup>95</sup> The separation must have facilitated dealing with the greater volume of court cases typical of the 1590s and is indicated by the increased thickness of Herefordshire's *ex officio* Acts books.<sup>96</sup>

Just as in the early years of Elizabeth's reign the church courts during this period had the benefit of a stable team of officials and a chancellor who was trusted by the bishop. Bishop Westfaling recommended Francis Bevans to the Privy Council as 'meet to continue in his duties', and judging by Bevans' will in which he left the bishop a 'young trotting gelding' and a gilt cup 'in remembrance of my love and duty', the two men were friends.<sup>97</sup> Bevans appeared regularly at the courts held at Hereford and at Ludlow from 1587 up to the time of his death between April and June 1602.<sup>98</sup> Jacob Lawrence and Thomas Crumpe, Bevans' registrar and deputy registrar, were also present at all the sessions in both places and they were still working in 1605.<sup>99</sup> These years of experience must have aided the officials'

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<sup>94</sup> HAS HD5/7/4, Bishop's Visitation 1582; HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587; HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1597-1598. There were also sixteen cases where certificates were demanded in the Hereford deanery between 1591 and 1593; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595.

<sup>95</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599.

<sup>96</sup> In Lichfield, for example, cases went up by more than 150 per cent between the 1520s and the 1590s, and there was a similar rise in Salisbury; Helmholz, *Roman Canon Law in Reformation England*, p. 45.

<sup>97</sup> TNA Lansdowne 52, f. 195, Herbert Westfaling, Bishop. of Hereford, to Lord Burghley, with his account of the Justices of the Peace in Herefordshire 7 Oct 1587; TNA prob/11/100, The Will of Francis Bevans December 1600.

<sup>98</sup> HAS HD4/1/152 Acts of Office 1587-1588 to HAS HD4/1/158 Acts of Office 1600-1602. Bevans' last recorded appearance at a church court session was in April 1602 and his widow was granted probate in June 1602; TNA prob/11/100, The Will of Francis Bevans December 1600.

<sup>99</sup> Thomas Crumpe was present from 1587 to 1605 and Jacob Lawrence from 1599 to 1605; HAS HD4/1/152 Acts of Office 1587-1588 to HAS HD4/1/162 Acts of Office 1605-1606.

knowledge of the parishes and now too they had easily accessible records of recusants' names in the Acts books to help them keep track of individuals. A wide knowledge of affairs can be inferred also from the overlap of personnel between the archidiaconal courts and the Dean's peculiar court – Bevans presided both at some of the Dean's courts as well as at the archidiaconal courts, and a Jacob Ballard acted as surrogate in both.<sup>100</sup>

When Robert Bennet took over as bishop in February 1603 there is no sign of change in the smooth-running of the courts. Like Westfaling, Bennet was notorious for suppressing Catholic recusants. He had been active in the 1580s at Winchester as master of St Cross, and in Herefordshire he made repeated appeals for a diocesan commission which would have given him more power to deal with recusancy.<sup>101</sup> Under Bennet's chancellor Jacob Bailie, registrar Jacob Lawrence's notes were, if anything, better organised even than those of the 1590s: some cases were cross-referenced by page number and each deanery's entry began with a list of *nomina excoꝛatorium ad gra'* (names of those excommunicated to a more severe level).<sup>102</sup>

However, with the exception of the Archenfield and Hereford deaneries, few Catholic offenders were found in the 1590s and up to 1603.

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<sup>100</sup> HAS 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602. Surviving records for the Dean's court show that Bevans presided over the instance cases of the peculiar between September 1592 and March 1593, and over the office cases in the summer of 1592. Jacob Ballard appeared as a surrogate for the Dean in 1592 and 1593, and for Bevans in the archidiaconal court in 1601/2. Bevans' will, in which he bequeathed 10s. for a ring to William Plott, a lawyer who regularly represented defendants in instance cases at the Dean's court, is another connection; TNA prob/11/100, The Will of Francis Bevans December 1600.

<sup>101</sup> W. Richardson, 'Bennet, Robert (d. 1617)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>102</sup> HAS HD4/1/161 Acts of Office 1603-1604.

*Table 2(viii) Number of non-gentry cases of not frequenting church, not receiving communion or recusancy 1595-1603<sup>103</sup>*

Deanery	1595	1598	1602	1603
Weobley	31	35	11	4
Leominster	24	15	27	6
Frome	27	19	6	5
Weston	37	29	No data	No data
Ross	7	No data	No data	No data
Archenfield	51	140	36	70
Hereford	34	No data	79	127

The increase in numbers in Archenfield in 1598 was in part due to a sharp rise in presentments at Kentchurch:

*Table 2(ix) Number of non-gentry cases for not frequenting church, not receiving communion or recusancy in selected parishes in the Archenfield deanery in 1595/6 and in 1598/1600*

Parish	1595/6	1598/1600
St Devereux	4	12
Garway	4	10
Kenderchurch	0	7
<b>Kentchurch</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>47</b>
Kilpeck	7	19
Llanrothal	2	16
Orcop	3	8

It seems probable that at least some of the new people who were presented in 1598 at Kentchurch had been part of the recusant population for a while but had been concealed from the courts, and that they were identified by a determined new Protestant minister, John Baguley, who had arrived in the parish in 1597.<sup>104</sup> By his own testimony, given at Star Chamber in 1619, Baguley had ‘laboured painefully in his vocacon and Callinge both in preachinge the worde of god and by Conferringe with recusantes (whoe abounded in his said parishe at his first Cominge thither)’ from the beginning of his ministry.<sup>105</sup> In 1595 gentry Baskervilles, Scudamores and Ingrams and the Gwaith and Farmer families, weavers and

<sup>103</sup> The volumes for these years are incomplete and there are no full records for Weston or Ross.

<sup>104</sup> Baguley was appointed at Kentchurch on 5 March 1597; TNA E 331/11, Returns of the First Fruits and Tenths, cited in The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835, [www.clergydatabase.org.uk](http://www.clergydatabase.org.uk). The effect Baguley had on the reporting of recusants at Kentchurch is similar to that of Edmund Hopwood at Childwall, Lancashire. Hopwood was instituted in 1589 and by 1592 recusants were presented from Childwall for the first time, though more were recorded in the Recusant Rolls than in the church court books; Dottie, ‘The Recusant Riots at Childwall’, p. 2.

<sup>105</sup> TNA STAC 8/70/3, Baguley v. Candishe October 1619.

tailors respectively, had been presented as Catholics.<sup>106</sup> In 1598 they were joined by several more non-gentry couples and family groups.<sup>107</sup>

*Table 2(x) Presentments at Kentchurch, 1595 and 1598*

**Bold = names appear in both 1595 and in 1598**

1595	1598
For not frequenting church or receiving the communion:	For not frequenting church and/or receiving the communion; cited by public edict by apparitor Taylor but did not appear and were excommunicated:
<u>GENTRY and household</u> <b>Baskerville, Sibill, wife of Jacob, knight</b> Millard, John, servant <b>Ingram, Anthony, gentleman</b> <b>Ingram, Anna wife of Anthony</b> Scudamore, Margaret Scudamore, Mary daughter of Thomas, knight	<u>GENTRY and household</u> <b>Baskerville, Sibilla wife of Jacob</b> <b>Ingram, Anthony his wife</b> <b>Ingram, Anthony</b> Scudamore, Christopher gentleman Scudamore, John, gentleman Scudamore, Thomas, knight Scudamore, Thomas his wife – Anna? Scudamore, Thomas his servant Scudamore, Thomas his servant Guellium Scudamore, Thomas, Joan his servant
<u>NON-GENTRY</u> 1. <b>Farmer, Henry, tailor</b> 2. Farmer, Jane, wife of Henry 3. <b>Farmer, Anna</b> 4. <b>Farmer, Elizabeth</b> 5. <b>Gwaith, Hugh, weaver</b> 6. <b>Gwaith, Margaret wife of Hugh</b> 7. <b>Gwaith, Elizabeth</b> 8. <b>Gwaith, Richard, weaver -</b> 9. <b>Waithen, Blanche wife of Jacob, weaver</b> 10. Clerke, Margaret 11. <b>Watkins, Margaret</b>	19. Harrie, Joan 20. Harry, Jeth 21. Harry, Joanna 22. Howell, Elizabeth 23. Howells, Walter 24. Illiams [sic], Johanna 25. Jenkin, Joanna 26. Lewes, Thomas 27. Lewes, Thomas his wife 28. Lewes, Michael 29. Mabe, Matilda 30. Meredith, Jane wife of John 31. Margaret 32. Parrie, Joan servant of Jacob Waithen 33. Parry, Hugh 34. Peers, Margaret widow 35. Powell, Thomas 36. Powell, Walter 37. Price, Anna NF 38. Smith, Gwenllian 39. Smith, William 40. Thomas, Mary wife of Richard 41. Thomas, Richard 42. <b>Waythen, Blanche wife of Jacob</b> 43. <b>Watkins, Margaret widow</b> 44. Williams, Harry Phillip 45. Williams, Elizabeth 46. Williams, Elizabeth widow 47. Williams Joanna
	<u>NON-GENTRY</u> 1. Cocke, John 2. Cocke, wife of John 3. Cox, Margaret wife of John 4. Duppa, Matilda wife of Thomas 5. Duppa, Thomas 6. <b>Farmer, Anna, widow</b> 7. Farmer, Catherine wife of Philip 8. <b>Farmer, Elizabeth, daughter of Catherine</b> 9. <b>Farmer, Henry</b> 10. Farmer, John 11. Farmer, John, his wife 12. Griffiths, Joan 13. <b>Gwaieth, Elizabeth</b> 14. Gwaieth, Joanna 15. <b>Gwaieth, Richard</b> 16. <b>Gwayth, Hugh</b> 17. <b>Gwayth, Margaret, wife of Hugh</b> 18. Gwayth, Hugh his servant Stephen

As well as non-attenders and non-communicants, several other individuals were identified for Catholic offences: Sir Jacob Baskerville had not had his children baptised, Nicholas Williams had buried the recusant Margaret Gache ‘without a minister and despite of the parson’, and

<sup>106</sup> HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596.

<sup>107</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599.

Margaret Parry and Margaret Price had ‘rung the twelve month mind’ for Price’s son William.<sup>108</sup> Although Baguley is not named in the records as the instigator of the 1598 presentments – all were cited to court by apparitor Taylor – there are parallels here with Childwall in Lancashire, where it was in part the arrival of the Protestant minister Edmund Hopwood in 1589 which prompted the reporting of recusants from the parish in 1592 for the first time.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, there is corroboration of the trouble Baguley caused in the church court record for July 1601 when Kentchurch churchwardens were presented ‘for suffering Richard Pigge an excommunicate to come into church in tyme of divine service’. Pigge abused Baguley, ‘saieing that he was not fit to serve the place and that the parish was but a wacke (that is, weak) parish to suffer such a one as he was to serve in this office thereby envraging [sic] the parishioners against him’.<sup>110</sup>

It is also probable, however, that the number of Catholic offenders in Herefordshire was rising in the late 1590s and early 1600s, as in various other parts of the country. Haigh, for example, noted significant growth in the number of recusants in Lancashire in the period to 1604, a return from Durham showed that 196 people had become recusants since the death of Elizabeth, and Bowler commented on the larger physical size of the recusant rolls after 1599.<sup>111</sup> It was a period of relative confidence for Catholics as hopes of toleration rose with the prospect of Elizabeth’s demise and a successor sympathetic to their cause. In south-west Herefordshire at this time both the secular priest Roger Cadwallador and the Jesuit Robert Jones were establishing permanent bases. Justice Richard Lewkenor’s comment of 1601 was probably accurate. There was, he said, a ‘greate backslyding in Religion especially in ...

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<sup>108</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599.

<sup>109</sup> This period of reporting in Childwall corresponded to a period of intense pressure following a metropolitan visitation from Archbishop Piers of York in 1590, as well as to Hopwood’s arrival; Dottie, ‘The Recusant Riots at Childwall’, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602. Richard Pigge was named in the Star Chamber case as a servant of recusant Amy Cavendishe, formerly Amy Scudamore, wife of John Scudamore, esquire; TNA STAC 8/70/3, Baguley v. Candishe October 1619.

<sup>111</sup> Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 330-331; J. A. Hilton, ‘Catholicism in Jacobean Durham’, *Recusant History*, 14 (1977), pp. 79-85, p. 81; H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 2 (1593-4)*, an abstract in English by Hugh Bowler, *Catholic Record Society*, 57 (1965), p. cxi.

Monmouthshire Herefordshire & Shropshire, & the skyrtes of the sheeres of Wales bounding upon them'.<sup>112</sup> The observation was echoed in 1603 by the President of the Council in the Marches, Edward Zouche, who described the Marches as 'stuffed with papists'.<sup>113</sup>

By the time of the metropolitan visitation of 1605 the numbers presented for Catholic offences in Herefordshire were conspicuously high.

*Table 2(xi) Numbers of non-gentry cases of not frequenting church, not receiving communion or recusancy 1595-1605*

Deanery	1595	1598	1602	1603	1605
Weobley	31	35	11	4	91
Leominster	24	15	27	6	86
Frome	27	19	6	5	85
Weston	37	29	No data	No data	30
Ross	7	No data	No data	No data	34
Archenfield	51	140	36	70	186
Hereford	34	No data	79	127	224
<b>Totals</b>	<b>189</b>				<b>736</b>

There was no doubt a fair amount of fluctuation behind these figures. The evidence of the Whitsun riots indicates that the hopes of a toleration for the Catholic faith, plus the rumours of plans to force the issue by toppling the king, had been encouraging 'all recusantes in the Countrey' since at least 1603. According to Robert Bennet's assistant, Paul Delahay, numbers had reached around a thousand.<sup>114</sup> Then, some fell away from Catholicism when a number of rioters and the priest George Williams were apprehended but at the same time the severity of the reprisals after the riots probably prompted presentments of offenders who, as at Kentchurch a few years earlier, had been concealed.

The 1605 court was convened in Hereford cathedral in September in the presence of a metropolitan visitor, Mr Richard, and took in the parishes of the Dean's peculiar as well as

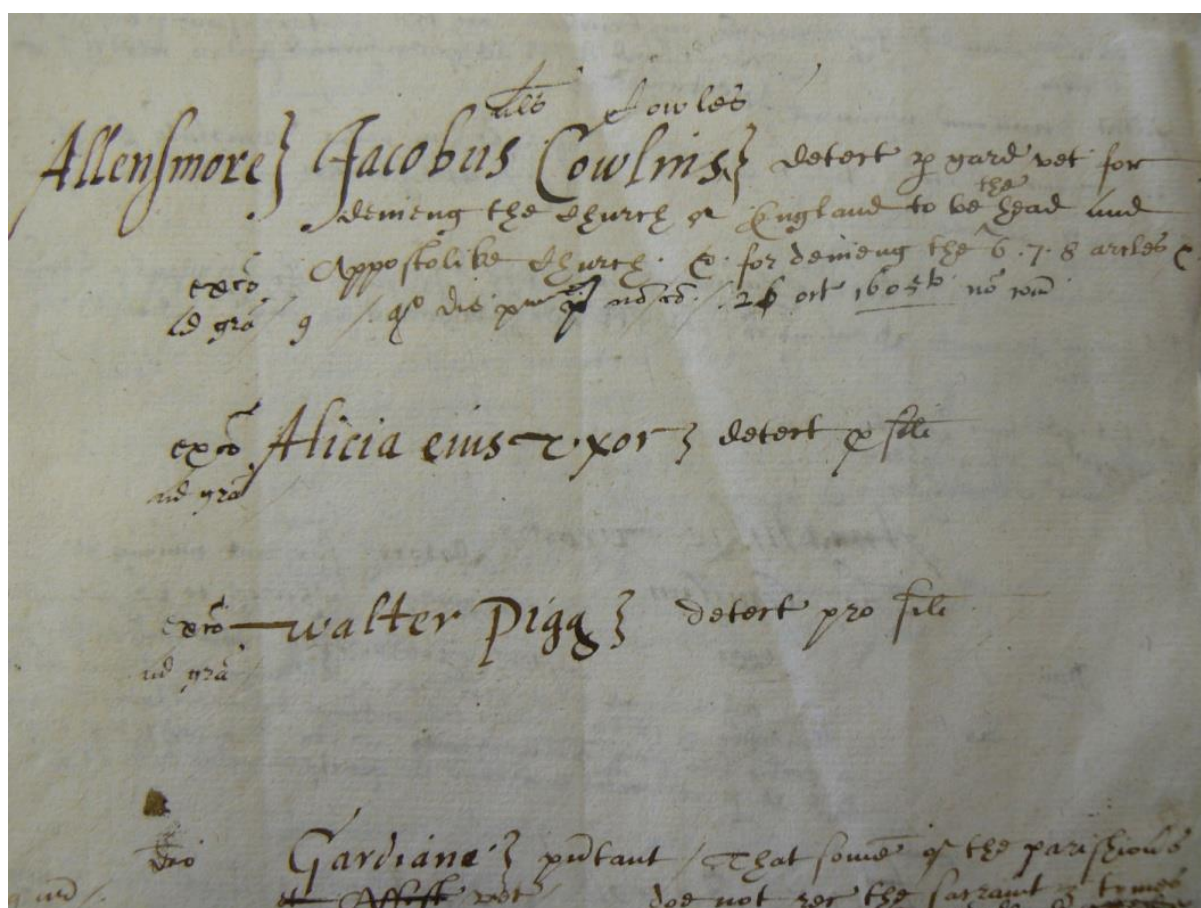
<sup>112</sup> TNA CP 89/35, Justice R. Lewkenor to Sir Robert Cecil. Ludlow: 1601, Oct. 31.

<sup>113</sup> L. A. Knafla, 'Zouche Edward Ia, eleventh Baron Zouche (1556–1625)', *ONDB* (online edn., January 2008); TNA CP 99/64, Edward, Lord Zouche, to Sir Robert Cecil. Ludlow: 1603, March 30.

<sup>114</sup> TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605.

the Hereford archdeaconry parishes.<sup>115</sup> The records suggest that attendance is likely to have been a daunting experience for those summoned. They were meticulous and rigorous: parish names were clearly and prominently written, as, occasionally were the names of individuals; entries were detailed; careful marginal notes were common, and a note was made if something had been newly found out, if it had been '*detect per gardianos quod*' (detected by the churchwardens that) or if the '*gardiani veteri presentant*' (the old churchwardens were presenting). The court continued, with detailed entries, under diocesan officials, from October to December and then convened again in January and March 1606.<sup>116</sup>

Figure 2(ii) An entry for Allensmore from the September 1605 court illustrating prominent names and a presentment by old churchwardens

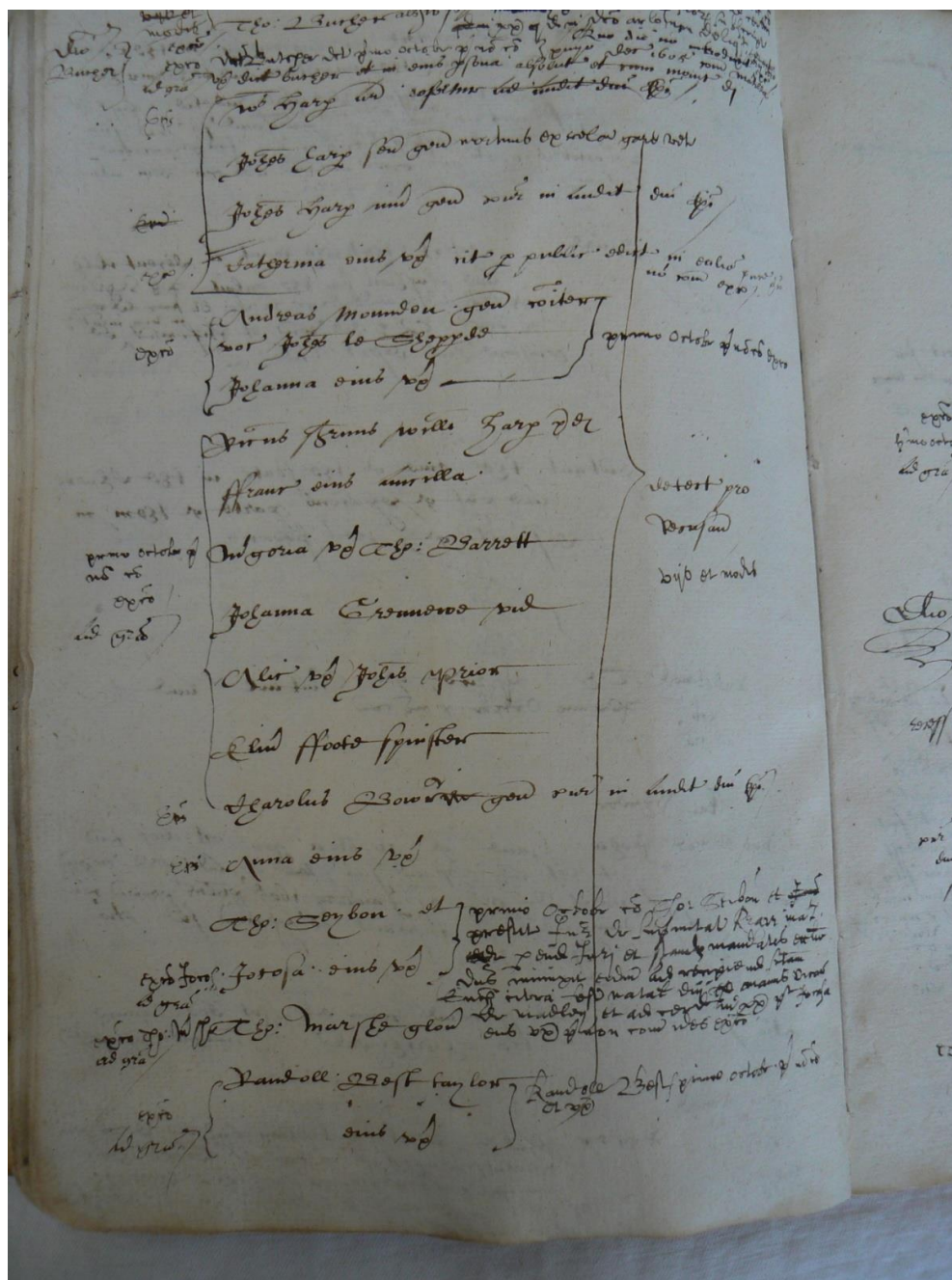


<sup>115</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. The first court was held in September and covered the Hereford deanery (the Dean's peculiar) first, then Archenfield, Weston, Weobley, Frome, Leominster and Ross.

<sup>116</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.



Figure 2(iii) An entry for Madley from the September 1605 court illustrating careful marginal notes and detail



The notes distinguish between, for example, recusants who were summoned by public proclamation in church and those who were summoned 'viis et modis' (ways and means) which indicated a citation that had been fixed for a short period to the house of the individual sought or to the church door of the parish, and those who were excommunicated and those excommunicated to the severest level.<sup>117</sup> Only Thomas Seybon and his wife Joyce appeared in court; they were required to receive the communion at the hands of the vicar of Madley.

<sup>117</sup> A. Tarver, *Church Court Records* (Chichester, 1995), p. 9.

Thus, in the mid-1580s there was a major shift in the concerns of Herefordshire's ecclesiastical courts. Under the leadership of Bishop Herbert Westfaling, and in a period of intense national concern about Catholics, religious cases dominated, although a three-year cycle is apparent with quite high numbers of religious cases in years of primary visitation then two years of lower numbers when preoccupation with sexual immorality and so forth was reasserted. Court procedures were tightened further as numbers of recusants continued to rise in the 1590s. The court ceased to be itinerant and was held instead in Ludlow parish church for the Shropshire deaneries and in Hereford cathedral for the Herefordshire deaneries. Particular pressure was applied in response to the Whitsun riots of 1605, and, despite the improvements in the court's efficiency and echoing the findings of Ingram in Wiltshire and Haigh in Lancashire, it became apparent that recusants in this period had sometimes been concealed by parishioners, a conclusion supported by the jump in numbers presented at Kentchurch following the arrival of John Baguley.

### **1606 – 1638: the courts to the eve of the Civil War**

In order to gauge the reliability of the records of Herefordshire's ecclesiastical courts several questions were posed at the beginning of this chapter to which the examination of the court's records up to 1605 has provided some answers. With the exception of the difficult but brief period in the mid-1580s which corresponds to the illness of the long-serving principal official Edward Threlkeld and to the death of Bishop John Scory, there has been no evidence of lax procedures, and as far as it is possible to tell from surviving sources, the court personnel were dedicated to the business of enacting the Elizabethan settlement. The courts operated efficiently, the officials were likely to have had a good working knowledge of the areas they covered and, as concern about recusancy rose, procedures were tightened similarly to courts in other parts of the country. The reliability of the churchwardens who made presentments to

the courts is harder to determine. Although significant numbers of Catholics do not seem to have been concealed in the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, there is evidence of concealment as recusancy increased. Nonetheless it seems clear that Haigh's dictum that Catholics were detected 'when they were looked for' is apposite.<sup>118</sup> Thus in 1598 higher numbers of Catholics at Kentchurch were probably presented than previously because of the determination of the minister John Baguley, and in 1605 concern prompted by the Whitsun riots may have revealed Catholics who had previously been hidden from officialdom. To what extent do these broad conclusions apply for the rest of the period under discussion? Was there spatial variation across the county? Can anything further be deduced from the records between 1605 to the late 1630s?

Continuity of personnel in the courts was maintained until the mid-1620s and, as in the Elizabethan period, probably underpinned the officials' knowledge of the parishes. There were only two principal officials at the archidiaconal courts until 1625, Jacob Bailie from 1605 to 1610, and his successor Gabriel Walwen, who was present in most courts until 1625. There was also only one archidiaconal registrar from 1605 to 1616, Thomas Crumpe.<sup>119</sup> Crumpe continued to appear up to 1626, but from 1616 he was replaced with increasing frequency, at first by Jacob Lawrence, then by Thomas Duppa and just twice by Oliver Lloyd.<sup>120</sup> At the Dean's peculiar courts, Edward Doughtie, Dean of Hereford from 1607 to 1616, officiated between 1608 and 1613. He seems to have been succeeded by Evan Jones who was named as sub-dean in the records of 1626.<sup>121</sup> The peculiar records do not name the registrar of the Dean's court for this period.

Continuity seems to have broken down at both courts around 1625. There were several changes of principal official in the archidiaconal courts from this date: Evan Jones's

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<sup>118</sup> Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', p. 50.

<sup>119</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606, to HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627.

<sup>120</sup> HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617, to HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627.

<sup>121</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-1629; F. T. Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses and other antiquarian memorials of Hereford* (Edinburgh, 1869), p. 40.

appearances became irregular, interspersed with appearances by Richard Bassett, William Skynner and Thomas Habberley, and from 1631 onwards also by Jonathan Dryden, whilst at archidiaconal courts held at Leominster John Tombes and William Broad deputised in 1635 and 1637. The registrars at the archidiaconal courts varied too after 1626. Thomas Lawrence, William Rawe, Thomas Vernold, Evan Griffith, Richard Brasier and Fitzwilliam Lawrence were all named.<sup>122</sup> There was a similar rather overwhelming succession of names at the Dean's peculiar courts: Francis Kerry, John Best, George Benson, Daniel Price, Mr Reding and Mr Becket all acted as principal officials between 1626 and early 1630, when the records for these courts cease. There was a little more stability of registrar at the Dean's court where Thomas Yaydon, Thomas Alderne and Roger Griffiths were now named as taking turns at the role.<sup>123</sup>

It is not clear why these changes took place. There was a quick turnover of bishops for a time, but this did not occur until after the death of Bishop Francis Godwin in April 1633, and most of the changes at the church courts pre-date this.<sup>124</sup> The changes were not matched by any great variations in the standard of recording in the Acts books. Naturally they resulted in changes in the script and several books are characterised by alterations of handwriting against individual entries as one registrar presumably took up the work from another. Yet although general efficiency does not seem to have been affected it must be doubted that the men in the later period had an especially good knowledge of the parishes.

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<sup>122</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626, to HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639.

<sup>123</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-1629.

<sup>124</sup> D. R. Woolf, 'Godwin, Francis (1562-1633)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004). William Juxon was elected in July 1633 but was translated to Canterbury before he could take up the post, and then each of three bishops held office for very short periods: Augustine Lindsell (March 1634 to his death in November 1634); Matthew Wren (March 1635 until his removal to Norwich in November 1635), and Theophilus Field (December 1635 to his death in June 1636); B. Quintrell, 'Juxon, William (1582-1663)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); A. Foster, 'Lindsell, Augustine (d. 1634)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); N. W. S. Cranfield, 'Wren, Matthew, (1585-167)', *ONDB* (online edn., October 2008); I. Atherton, 'Field, Theophilus (1575-1636)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

Just a little is known of the personal beliefs of these men. Sometime before October 1609 John Best, who sometimes presided at the Dean's court, 'conferred' on behalf of the bishop with recusant George Scudamore of Llangarren, esquire, to try to convert him from Catholicism.<sup>125</sup> John Tombes, who presided just twice at the archidiaconal court at Leominster, was active in the Puritan cause: in February 1642 the sheriff was to write of him that he 'knew not of any minister as hated or set against as Mr Tombes by a great number of *superstitious people* in the Towne of Leominster'.<sup>126</sup> It is clear from the will of George Benson, another who was occasionally principal official at the Deans' court, that he would have had no sympathy with Catholics as his preamble referred to 'Jesus who purchased me through the shedding of his most dear blood', and he required that his body 'be buried without pompe and ostentation'.<sup>127</sup> The will of archidiaconal registrar Richard Brasier revealed only that he left his spirit 'to God who gave it', although his sympathies for the Laudian church were indicated by his gift of 10s. 'to the holy and individuall church of Doore' which was restored by Viscount Scudamore of Holme Lacy 'to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness'.<sup>128</sup> The wills of Richard Brasier and of one Oliver Lloyd, who was chancellor of the choir of Hereford cathedral from 1617 to 1621 and Dean from 1617 to 1623, show connections between some of these men which suggest that they knew each other well.<sup>129</sup> Brasier noted in a memorandum to his will that his 'colleague' FitzWilliam Lawrence (one of the registrars) and other notaries were witnesses, and that he held 'a tenancy in Castle Street' of Mr Dryden (one of the principal officials).<sup>130</sup> Mr Kerry (a principal official) was one of Oliver Lloyd's debtors; Mr Bassett (another principal official)

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<sup>125</sup> TNA SP 14/48, f. 187, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury, 27 October 1609. The bishop said that he had conferred with Scudamore himself and 'enjoynd him in conference with Mr Best, a prebendary in Hereford'.

<sup>126</sup> Author's italics. BL Harley Papers Add MS 70001, f. 225.

<sup>127</sup> TNA prob/11/204, The Will of George Benson 16 September 1647.

<sup>128</sup> TNA prob/11/203, The Will of Richard Brasier 20 April 1639, probate granted 1649; I. Atherton, *Ambition and Failure in Stuart England* (Manchester, 1999), p. 60.

<sup>129</sup> Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses*, pp. 44, 56.

<sup>130</sup> TNA prob/11/203, The Will of Richard Brasier 20 April 1639, probate granted 1649.

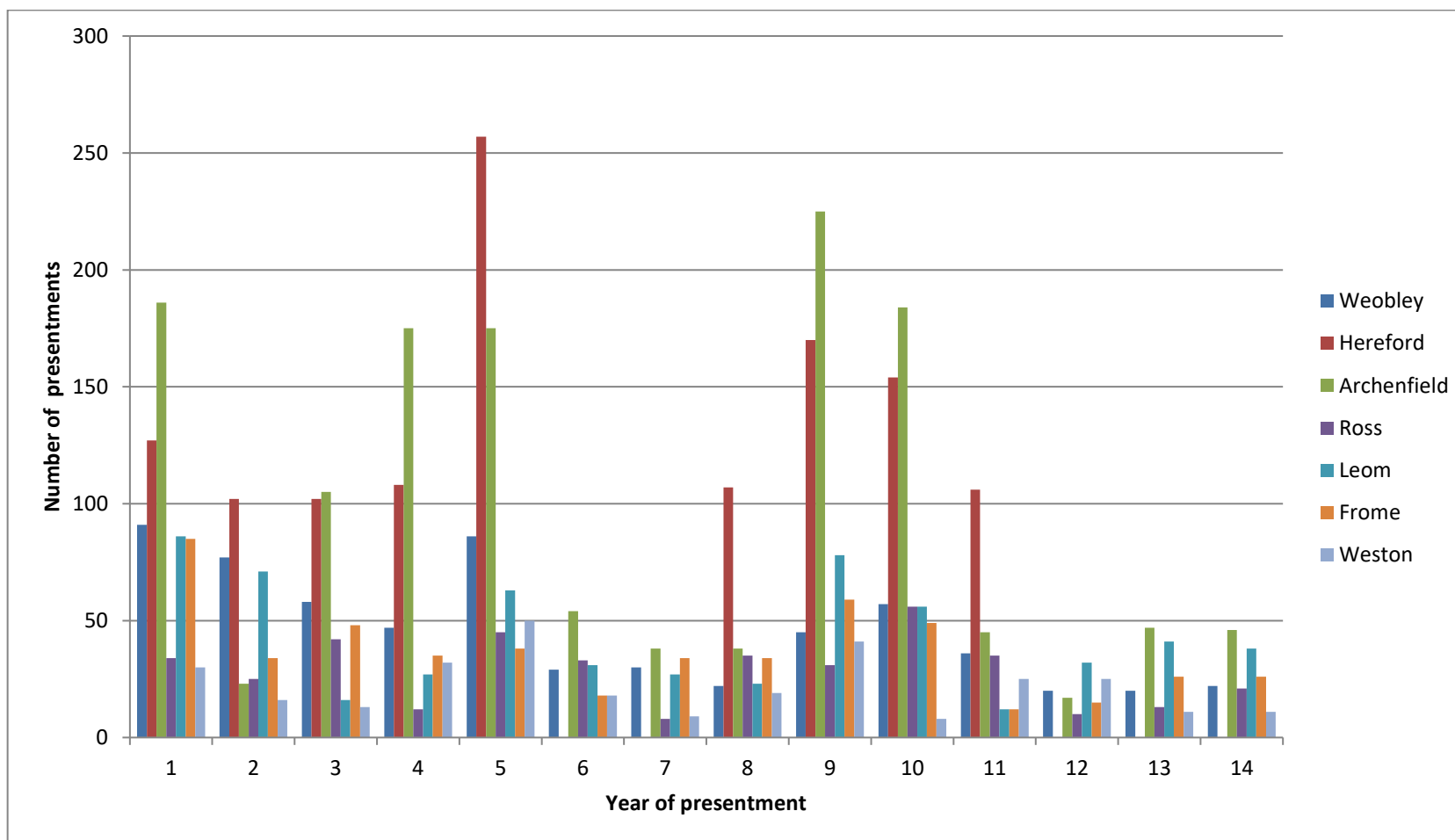
was one of his ‘good friends’; Dr Benson (a principal official) had responsibility for distributing a legacy to Hereford’s poor on Lloyd’s behalf; Thomas Habberley (a principal official) was an executor, and his daughter, Joan Lawrence, was perhaps the Joan who married Fitzwilliam Lawrence.<sup>131</sup> These relationships involved trust between men who quite probably thought alike about religion and who may also have had informal exchanges about the business of the courts as well as sharing information when they were working.

Spatial variation in presentments for absence from church, not receiving the communion or recusancy from 1605 onwards is immediately obvious from the bar chart, below.

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<sup>131</sup> TNA prob/11/147, The Will of Oliver Lloyd 9 October 1625; HAS 8/6/7, The Will of Fitzwilliam Lawrence the elder 28 June 1678.

Table 2(x) Non-gentry presentments from the Herefordshire deaneries, 1605 to 1637



Key to years of presentment:

1.1605 2.1608 3.1609 4.1611 5.1614 6.1616 7.1619 8.1620 9.1625 10.1627 11.1629 12.1635 13.1636 14.1637





In the archidiaconal records of 1608, 1609, 1611 and 1614 each deanery entry begins with religious cases and these quite often outnumbered other types of cases. The overall number of presentments was high particularly in 1614 when the archidiaconal court was overseen by a metropolitan visitor, Mr George.<sup>135</sup> Seventy-nine per cent of those presented for religious offences in 1614 were excommunicated, further marking the increased pressure on Catholics.<sup>136</sup>

Historians have commonly interpreted the early years of James' reign as a time of moderate toleration towards Catholics. Fincham and Lake argued that James' message to Catholics was clear: 'a measure of *de facto* tolerance was possible for those prepared to vindicate themselves as good subjects', and Okines agreed that the government was careful not to incite hatred against the Jesuits after 1605 and that James' whole approach to Catholics was measured.<sup>137</sup> Yet there were problems for Catholics. A backlash of popular anti-Catholic sentiment followed the Gunpowder Plot and Anglo-papal relations deteriorated sharply when Pope Paul V succeeded Clement VIII in May 1605.<sup>138</sup> The 1606 'Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants' introduced the 'vicious' oath of allegiance which raised the question of the Pope's power in acute form and caused havoc and division among Catholics, even though there was, effectively, a simultaneous relaxation in recusancy fines.<sup>139</sup>

The court records for 1605 to 1614 clearly indicate that Bennet was one who had not relinquished his anti-Catholic stance. He was nonetheless frustrated by his lack of powers to control Catholics. In March 1609, claiming he was 'pestered with recusants', he reminded

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<sup>135</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/167 and HAS HD4/1/168, Acts of Office 1611 (two volumes for this year); HAD HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612; HAS HD4/1/173 Acts of Office 16 and HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614 (two volumes for this year).

<sup>136</sup> HAS HD4/1/173 Acts of Office 16 and HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614.

<sup>137</sup> K. Fincham and P. Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies*, 24 (1985), pp. 169-207, 185; A. W. R. E. Okines, 'Why was there so little Government reaction to the Gunpowder Plot?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), pp. 275-291, p. 276.

<sup>138</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>139</sup> M. Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1999), pp. 311-329, p. 328.

the Earl of Salisbury that he had been an ‘importunate suitor’ to the Archbishop ‘for a Commission or some other authoritie to subdue their proud Spirites’.<sup>140</sup> In October 1609 Bennet entreated Lord Eure, President of the Council in the Marches, to administer the oath of allegiance to Herefordshire’s principal recusants, sending him two lists of names and arguing that those on the lists would be deterred by ‘the Awfulnes of the Counsell’, but he was again thwarted when Eure pointed out that, in his role as President of the Council, he would need special authority from the king to deal in ‘matters of religion’.<sup>141</sup> The Council had powers over criminal and civil rather than religious cases.<sup>142</sup> Bennet did what he could: he had ‘sundry conferences’ with the recusants – for example with Lady Bodenham, Jane Myllard, a mercer’s wife, Mr Gregory Havard of Pyxley, Mr Henry Rawley of Withington, Mr George Kemble of Welsh Newton and Mr John Carpenter of Almeley – but he ‘found them obstinate’.<sup>143</sup> When he captured the priest Roger Cadwallador in April 1610, he repeated his request to Salisbury for a special Commission.<sup>144</sup>

For their part the Catholics appeared bold during this period, perhaps encouraged by Bennet’s failure to enhance his powers. They were holding ‘public assemblies and hosting priests’; Jane Myllard had ‘seduced her sister and others’; Mr John Awbrey of Monkland refused the bishop’s summons, and tailor’s widow Alice Ireland was observed to have ‘persons going to a man (that is, no doubt, priest) in her house’.<sup>145</sup> The Catholics even managed to sidestep the problem of the oath. When administered at the Hereford Assizes in November 1609, the oath was taken in a significantly modified form due to ‘the laxity of Justice Williams’. Eure forwarded to Salisbury a copy of the watered-down articles which

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<sup>140</sup> TNA SP 14/44, f. 93, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 17 March 1609.

<sup>141</sup> TNA SP 14/48, ff. 187-189, The Bishop of Hereford to Ralph Eure 27 October 1609; TNA SP 14/49 f. 44, Ralph Eure to the Earl of Salisbury 13 November 1609.

<sup>142</sup> P. Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958), pp. 48-51.

<sup>143</sup> TNA SP 14/48, ff. 187-189, The Bishop of Hereford to Ralph Eure 27 October 1609.

<sup>144</sup> TNA SP 14/53, f. 146, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 15 April 1610.

<sup>145</sup> TNA SP 14/53, f. 146, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 15 April 1610. John Ireland was a tailor who came originally from Pembridge, and both he and his wife Alice were first named as recusants in the Pipe Rolls in July 1589; Bowler and McCann, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, 1581-1592*.

conspicuously omitted acknowledgement of the power of the pope to excommunicate the king.<sup>146</sup> The comment in 1610 of secular priest John Stevens to Archpresbyter George Birkhead indicates that Catholics were encouraged by Justice Williams' laxity: 'some judges of our country ... granted some to take the oath in private and others to take part of the oath, and this is done in courtesie and I hope in favour of the cause.'<sup>147</sup>

The arrival in London of the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, in August 1613 signalled an improvement of relations with Spain and some easing of persecution against Catholics, although James' policy fluctuated at this time, and Gondomar commented that policy changed in accordance with the king's good will.<sup>148</sup> Bennet's continued determination to reform his diocese is indicated by his setting up a training programme for non-preaching ministers in 1614-1615, and, as noted above, the archidiaconal courts in 1614 were particularly rigorous and were presided over by a metropolitan visitor, Mr George.<sup>149</sup>

In the second half of the 1610s, the king's anti-Catholic policy continued to fluctuate. Fining gentry Catholics and sequestering their property went on unabated yet there were keen hopes of toleration when negotiations for a Spanish marriage for James' son Charles started in 1618.<sup>150</sup> Herefordshire's archidiaconal court records at this time reverted to the pattern of 1560s and 1570s. Cases for each deanery frequently began with, and were dominated by, sexual and testamentary cases and there was a fair scattering of routine church repairs, but there were few presentments for religious offences. There were nonetheless hints of concern. Thus, in 1619 the registrar noted that *multi recusantes* (many recusants) were detected, albeit not named, at Orcop and Welsh Newton in the Archenfield deanery. These were also the years when mention was again made of the 12d. fine for absence from church. References to

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<sup>146</sup> TNA SP 14/48, ff. 187-189, The Bishop of Hereford to Ralph Eure 27 October 1609; TNA SP 14/49 f. 44, Ralph Eure to the Earl of Salisbury 13 November 1609.

<sup>147</sup> AAW, Series B, Roman Letters, 1579-1619, 39, John Stevens to George Birkhead, 1610.

<sup>148</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>149</sup> W. Richardson, 'Bennet, Robert (d. 1617)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); HAS HD4/1/173 and HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614.

<sup>150</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, pp. 50-51.

the fine at Bishopstone in 1610, Kentchurch in 1613 and Much Marcle in 1618 suggest a fresh impetus from Justices of the Peace in enforcing the fine. Whilst the Act of Uniformity in 1559 had laid the main responsibility for collecting the fine on churchwardens, requiring them to present cases of refusal to attend church, if their endeavours failed, to the ecclesiastical courts, there was also provision for cases to be taken to assizes if refusal was sustained.<sup>151</sup> Kentchurch's entry stated that wardens had not returned 'the names of such unto the justices that the xijd. may be levied of their goods according to the statute', Much Marcle's that wardens had 'not levied the xijd. fine of those who were absent from church because they have noe warrant soe to doe', whilst at Bishopstone the wardens had to be 'certified' before they could levy the fine. Only at Foy in 1619 were the churchwardens taking care, by contrast, 'to levy xijd. for everyone absent according to the order of the iustices with the names of those absent'.<sup>152</sup>

The low numbers presented to the courts in the late 1610s, and shown on figure 2(iv), might reflect the regular collection of fines in most parishes or might simply be due to under-reporting in response to the easing of political pressure. A number of people in the Archenfield and Hereford deaneries were presented for recusancy to the courts in or before 1614 and again in 1625 but not in the intervening years. Three people from Eaton Bishop fell into this category, for example, seven from Garway, eleven from the city of Hereford and seven from Kentchurch.<sup>153</sup> There was a handful from other deaneries – seven from Weobley deanery, and also two from Leominster deanery and two from Frome. It is unlikely that these individuals all practised church papistry precisely between these dates.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Walker, *The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants*, p. 7.

<sup>152</sup> HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619. Briefer references to the fine not being levied were at Kington in 1610, Brobury in 1611, Pembridge and Hentland in 1613, Tarrington and Lyonshall in 1619, Canon Frome in 1620 and Tibberton in 1626; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-1629.

<sup>153</sup> HAS HD4/1/173 and HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>154</sup> HAS HD4/1/173 and HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

The reign of Charles I opened promisingly for Catholics, with Henrietta Maria's Catholicism leading to renewed hopes of religious tolerance. On 1 May 1625 Charles suspended the recusancy laws, thus allowing his marriage to go ahead, but with war against Spain looming the move was unpopular and the queen's arrival in the summer of 1625 sparked off a wave of anti-Catholic debate in Parliament.<sup>155</sup> Robert Harley, Puritan and Member of Parliament for Herefordshire, was one of those who told the House that there had been a growth of popery in the kingdom and Charles, under pressure, issued a proclamation in November ordering the enforcement of penal laws against Catholics.<sup>156</sup> Both Catholic hopes and the anti-Catholic mood were reflected in Herefordshire. The annual letter of 1624 from St Francis Xavier's, the Jesuit College which had been established at the Cwm on the Herefordshire-Monmouthshire border a year earlier, mentioned 'renewed persecution' in the area as early as 1624 but it also indicated conversions: '120 were received into the church in spite of renewed persecution which tended to depress Catholics'.<sup>157</sup> In 1625, thirty-five converts were made.<sup>158</sup> New converts were documented too in the records of the ecclesiastical courts, particularly in parishes near to the new Jesuit College.<sup>159</sup> At the same time, religious cases of recusancy, not frequenting church and not taking the communion dominated the courts once more and continued to do so until the end of 1627. In 1621 the word 'recusant' had been used ten times in the church court records; in 1625 it was used 103 times.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> R. Cust, *Charles I, a Political Life* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 45.

<sup>156</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, p. 71; J. Eales, 'Sir Robert Harley, (1579-1656) and the Character of a Puritan', *The British Library Journal*, 15 (1989), pp. 133-157, p. 142.

<sup>157</sup> H. Thomas, 'The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier at the Cwm, c. 1600-1679', *Recusant History*, 32 (2014), pp. 173-193, 174; Annual Letters Society of Jesus Archives, Rome, College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales 1624, reproduced in H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, VII (part ii), Collectanea (London, 1883), p. 1104.

<sup>158</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales 1625, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, VII, p. 1121.

<sup>159</sup> See pp. 296-298 for new converts at this time.

<sup>160</sup> HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

In the 1630s there were no national drives against Catholics. Charles' efforts focused on raising revenue from gentry Catholics and court Catholicism under Henrietta Maria's influence won through.<sup>161</sup> In Herefordshire the new bishop, Matthew Wren, visited the diocese in the summer of 1635, accompanied by a metropolitan visitor, which no doubt accounts for the increased number of Catholics presented that year, particularly noticeable in Archenfield.<sup>162</sup> Eighty-nine plebeian Catholics were presented in Archenfield in 1635 and fifty-four in 1637. Just two of those presented in 1637 appeared in the 1635 record, one of whom was a persistent recusant: perhaps the new names indicate conversion.<sup>163</sup> However nothing else in the records suggests this. There are nonetheless occasional indications in this decade of plebeian Catholic determination in the Whitsun riots area: 'private meetings' at Tretire and Michaelchurch in 1631; two recusant burials, one at Abbey Dore and one at Stretton in the same year; Hugh Garson of Kentchurch failing to attend church and refusing to take on the office of churchwarden in 1638.<sup>164</sup> But overall presentments had tailed off and even in Archenfield totals were lower than in any other years except for the second half of the 1610s. The concerns of the courts, with their changes of presiding officials and registrars, returned almost entirely to the sexual mores and testamentary problems of parishioners. In the 1637 courts the word 'recusant' was used only five times.<sup>165</sup>

Two further, related, points about the reliability of Herefordshire's ecclesiastical court records remain to be made. Firstly, the nature of the records themselves suggests reliability. Eaton Bishop is taken as an example, as people from this parish were caught up in events at

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<sup>161</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, pp. 73-75.

<sup>162</sup> HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1635-1637. The metropolitan visitor is not named but there are two references to the visitation, each heading a list of recusants who failed to appear in court. Wren was only at Hereford for eight months, from March 1635 to November 1635; Cranfield, 'Wren, Matthew (1585-1667)'.

<sup>163</sup> HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1635-1636; HAS HD4/1/ 186, Acts of Office 1637-1638. The two who were presented for a second time were George Smith of St Devereux, and Anna Price of Kentchurch who had been presented for 'stark coming to church' in 1625; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>164</sup> HAS HD1/4/182, Acts of Office 1631; HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639.

<sup>165</sup> HAS HD4/1/ 186, Acts of Office 1637-1638.

the time of the Whitsun riots and the parish continued to present Catholics until extant records for the Dean's peculiar end in 1630.<sup>166</sup> Reliability can be inferred from the detail given in some individual entries, as, for example, in 1613 where a careful distinction was made between the offences of John Griffiths and Francis White.<sup>167</sup> The initial entry about Griffiths was only that he did not attend church, but his reluctant conformity was reported at the next court, for he had been to divine service and 'knelt in time of general confession', offensive, perhaps, because reminiscent of popish practice.<sup>168</sup> The churchwardens were specific about the length of Francis White's absence: 'he hath not been but twice at evening prayer since Michaelmas last'. They complained at the next court that 'being put by the vicar from the communion at the command of Mr Dean he did notwithstanding kneel upon his knees at Christmas day and would have received to the disturbance of whole congregation present and the minister'.<sup>169</sup>

The general reliability of the records can also be inferred by tracking individuals across a number of years. Thus, Anna Harries, the wife of Thomas, was named as a recusant at the 1605 visitation and presented at the same court for not being purified in church after childbirth.<sup>170</sup> After that, she appeared for not frequenting church in each of the years with entries in the Acts book for Eaton Bishop up to and including 1613 (1609, 1610, 1611, 1612 and 1613).<sup>171</sup> After the resumption of the Dean's peculiar records in 1618, she was not picked out as someone who had failed to attend church, but in 1620 she was presented for not sending her children to be catechised. It was not until 1625 that she was listed as one of three

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<sup>166</sup> Involvement of parishioners at Eaton Bishop around 1605 or shortly before, is indicated in that the priest Rice Griffiths alias Williams said mass 'two severall times' in the house of Mrs Morgan of Eaton Bishop and he also 'withdrew many of the parish from the church'; TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605.

<sup>167</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613.

<sup>168</sup> Duffy refers to people kneeling before the priest at Easter when the priest heard each individual confession, in E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London, 1999), p. 61.

<sup>169</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613.

<sup>170</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. See chapter four for the reluctance of Catholic women to be purified in a Church of England service.

<sup>171</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613.

plebeian recusants.<sup>172</sup> It looks, from this, as if Anna Harries was a church papist from 1618 to 1625 and that her fellow parishioners were keeping an accurate record of her church attendance. The entries for her husband Thomas support this idea. Thomas Harries was not presented as a recusant with his wife in 1605, but he was before the court that year for both quarrelling and playing ball in the churchyard at time of divine service.<sup>173</sup> He did not appear in court for non-attendance at church until 1611; early in 1612 he received a warning for the same offence.<sup>174</sup> In September 1612 Thomas was presented for not receiving the communion, with a note against his name that he went on to receive at Christmas. In 1613 he was presented once more, again for not receiving. On this occasion he agreed to receive at Pentecost, failed to do so and was excommunicated.<sup>175</sup> In 1620 Harries was named with his wife for failing to send children for catechism, but, like Anna, seems to have been a church papist at this stage.<sup>176</sup> However, his activities were not ignored and in 1621 disturbance of the service can again be surmised: he was presented for causing a nuisance by ‘keeping his cattle in the field at the time of evening prayer’. In 1623 he was in trouble for not paying a lewn (church-rate) of 10s. In 1625, like Anna, he was a recusant, excommunicated for neither attending church nor receiving communion.<sup>177</sup>

To a large extent this meticulousness can be attributed to the cooperation of churchwardens.<sup>178</sup> Churchwardens appear to have attended the courts diligently, and reports of failure to present recusants were rare. In the Hereford deanery, for example, in the years

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<sup>172</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618-1629.

<sup>173</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613. Westfaling had made it clear in Article 46 of his 1592 visitation that churchwardens must report: ‘any unseemly behaviour in church or churchyard that doe in any waie disturbe common prayer or any part of divine service, or any who doe use any games ... at these times’; J. Barnes (printer), *Articles ecclesiasticall to be inquired of by the churchwardens and the sworne-men within the dioces of Hereforde in the visitation of the reuerend father in God, Harbart Bishop of the saide dioces, this present yeare M.D.LXXXII. and in the XXXIII. yeare of the raigne of our most gracious soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth, &c. and so hereafter till the next visitation, & from time to time to bee presented*, (Oxford, 1592), Early English Books Online, <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>, Article 46.

<sup>174</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613.

<sup>175</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613.

<sup>176</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618-1629.

<sup>177</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618-1629.

<sup>178</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 324-325.



from 1592 to early 1630 where records are available, there were only eight occasions when a note showed that the wardens had failed to present recusants or ‘negligent comers to church’, and in seven cases they conformed and a list followed.<sup>179</sup> In Archenfield there were twelve failures to present recusants between 1586 and 1638, with seven instances where the lists of names followed.<sup>180</sup> This is despite evidence in some parishes in the Hereford and Archenfield deaneries of churchwardens who were church papists and might therefore have wished to conceal offenders.<sup>181</sup> It is of course possible that such men underreported Catholics, as at Kentchurch before 1598, but there were counterbalances in the system here – conformists outnumbered Catholics and apparitors and clergy were often vigilant.<sup>182</sup> The court officials also played a significant role in ensuring that presentments were made. Churchwardens who failed to present were warned, and sometimes excommunicated. Excommunication entailed a charge on the parish and would have been further incentive to make the presentments the courts required.<sup>183</sup> Thus, the variations in presentments over the years, shown in figure 2(iv) above, more likely reflect variations in pressure from the courts themselves than in determined concealment on the part of the churchwardens.

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<sup>179</sup> Churchwardens failed to present recusants or negligent comers to church at Moreton Jeffries, St Martin’s, and St Owen’s (here names had been ‘blotted out’), in 1620; at Canon Pyon in 1621, at Dinedor in 1624 and 1625 (these entries were about failure to present the gentry Bodenham household at Rotherwas); at All Saints Hereford in 1627 and at St Peter’s Hereford in 1629. At Kingston in 1630 the churchwardens failed to present Richard Powell for recusancy although they named four other people. No list of names followed the entries at Moreton Jeffries; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618-1629. In 1601 in the Hereford deanery a visitation article had presumably asked churchwardens to present their ‘book of recusants’, and thirteen parishes failed to do so immediately, but the request for the book seems to have been separate from a request for names, as some of these parishes named non-attenders, non-communicants and recusants; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1600-1601.

<sup>180</sup> Churchwardens failed to present recusants or negligent comers to church at Aconbury, Much Birch, Little Birch, Ganarew, Llangarren and Pencoyd in 1599, with lists following at Ganarew and Llangarren; at Kentchurch in 1603; at Kentchurch again and at Marstow in 1614 (Kentchurch wardens provided lists both times); at Foy and Kenderchurch in 1636, and at Llanwarne in 1638 (all went on to give names); HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD 4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1637-1639.

<sup>181</sup> See chapter four for church papist wardens.

<sup>182</sup> J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 19-20; Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 328-329.

<sup>183</sup> At Madley, when the churchwardens were excommunicated in the course of their duties, they charged the parish; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book.

The second point, perhaps self-evident, but which suggests that the records can be largely relied on, and which arises from this sort of careful presentment, is that when the records from all the parishes are put together, consistent patterns emerge. In Archenfield, for example, where higher numbers of Catholics were found, most presentments for Catholic offences came from seven parishes, St Devereux, Garway, Kentchurch, Kilpeck, Llanrothal, Orcop and Wormebridge. The parishes of eastern Archenfield, such as Hentland, Llanwarne, Much Birch and Pencoyd made very few presentments, and those who failed to frequent church or receive communion were scattered over the sixty-year period.<sup>184</sup>

## Conclusions

Herefordshire's ecclesiastical courts have been shown in this chapter to have exerted sustained pressure on Catholics. The courts were generally efficient, and their officials were likely, at least until the mid-1620s, to have had a reasonable knowledge of the parishes and as far as it is possible to tell from surviving documents, to have been dedicated to enacting the Elizabethan settlement. The broad sweep of presentments for Catholic offences nonetheless shows that detection occurred in response to political will from the centre. Recusants were found in times of heightened concern consistently with the polemically-driven opinions of contemporaries, such as the growing anxieties about Catholics in the mid-1580s, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and in 1625. Perhaps too, the low number of presentments in the 1630s, as well as reflecting Charles I's concentration on fiscal penalties for recusants, in part bears out the view of Wallop Brabazon in 1642 that 'Papists at home ... are so quiet we have had no cause hitherto to apprehend any danger from them.'<sup>185</sup> Such was the interaction between

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<sup>184</sup> See chapter three and maps VII, VIII and IX.

<sup>185</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, p. 70; Knafla, 'Zouche, Edward Ia, eleventh Baron Zouche'; TNA CP 99/64, Edward, Lord Zouche, to Sir Robert Cecil. Ludlowe: 1603, March 30; BL Harley Papers Add MS 70001, f. 238, Wallop Brabazon to Robert Harley and Humphrey Coningsby, 1642. See page 223, however, for Brabazon's relationship via his wife to the recusant Clarke family of Wellington and to his alleged friendship with Leominster recusant Mr John Clarke.

ruler and ruled in the early modern period, however, that the opposite also held true – political pressure occurred in response to the situation on the ground.<sup>186</sup> The thorough metropolitan visitation after the riots in the summer of 1605 is a case in point.

The courts were only one side of the coin. Churchwardens with Catholic sympathies might have good reasons for not wishing to present their neighbours. The example of Kentchurch in the late 1590s suggests that concealment had occurred prior to Baguley's appointment as vicar, and there were probably Catholics whom the wardens did not present to the archidiaconal courts when not required to do so, as in the long run of quiet years between 1614 and 1625. Nonetheless, there is a meticulousness about entries which suggests accuracy of reporting and the pattern of presentment in individual parishes tends to remain very much the same over the sixty-year period. It would of course be naive to suppose that the post-Reformation ecclesiastical courts identified everyone who was Catholic. Nonetheless, the evidence in the chapter allows a conclusion which concurs with and extends that of Ingram, which was based on his wide-ranging study of church courts in Wiltshire between 1570 and 1640. Ingram argued that the courts presented obstinate recusants 'with sufficient regularity to ... identify the Catholic minority'.<sup>187</sup> The records of Herefordshire's ecclesiastical courts identify some of the church papist penumbra as well as the recusant hard core.<sup>188</sup> Although the records must be used with caution, they are a valid and useful source on which to base inferences about Catholicism in Herefordshire.

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<sup>186</sup> Walter argued, in the context of his analysis of economic riots, that the Privy Council responded sharply to popular disorder in part because of an awareness that the means of suppression were limited; Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics*, pp. 11, 103.

<sup>187</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 328-329.

<sup>188</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p 6.

### CHAPTER THREE: THE CHARACTER OF CATHOLICISM IN HEREFORDSHIRE c.1580-1640

What was the character of Catholicism in Herefordshire from the 1580s, when Catholic offences started to be presented regularly to the church courts, to the eve of the Civil War?<sup>1</sup> Were there gentry households of the sort developed by Jesuit John Gerard for Elizabeth Vaux, which Rowlands described as a private garden, with servants able to attend mass and be given regular instruction?<sup>2</sup> Is there evidence of a wider seigneurial influence, Bossy's 'coagulations' round gentlemen's houses where the landlord's prerogative was exercised?<sup>3</sup> Rowlands, also, contended that 'parishes with a strong (non-gentry) Catholic presence in rural areas were normally those where the main landowner was a Catholic'.<sup>4</sup> Pugh argued for seigneurialism of this sort in Herefordshire's neighbouring county of Monmouthshire - did the pattern pertain across the border?<sup>5</sup> Pugh observed too that, as well as 'the plain country fellow' taking his 'religion with his copyhold', the influence was particularly marked when the landlord harboured a priest. This occurred in southern Hampshire and parts of Egton in Yorkshire where priests were landing on nearby coasts. Such refuges became natural centres for mass.<sup>6</sup> Were there any areas in Herefordshire where plebeian Catholicism dominated? At Malpas in Cheshire in the early 1580s Barlow has noted that the 'middling and humbler sort' were attending masses hosted by local yeoman families, with gentry conspicuously absent, while recusants in several Yorkshire moorland parishes came from all sectors of the non-gentry

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<sup>1</sup> As stated in the Introduction to this thesis, the main focus of interest is the ordinary Catholic.

<sup>2</sup> Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 169-170; Rowlands, 'Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625', p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 173-175.

<sup>4</sup> Rowlands, 'Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625', pp. 17-19.

<sup>5</sup> F. A. Pugh, 'Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, Publications*, 4 (1957), pp. 59-110, p. 60. Pugh's key example was the 1606 Recusant Roll for Llantarnam, where sixty plebeians were convicted of recusancy alongside Edward Morgan, son-in-law to the Earl of Worcester. Pugh quoted from *Microcosmography*, written by John Earles in 1628.

<sup>6</sup> Sheils, 'Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry', p. 111; J. E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants in the time of Elizabeth I, with special reference to Winchester', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, XXI, Part II (1959), pp. 61-81, pp. 60, 79-80.

community, with the emergence by 1610 of senior non-gentry figures providing stability.<sup>7</sup> Was there anything similar in Herefordshire? Is there evidence of another of Sheils' categories, non-gentry households and individuals scattered over quite wide areas?<sup>8</sup> And what about Herefordshire's towns? Was there anything distinctive about Catholicism in the cathedral city of Hereford? Can any parallels be drawn with York in the mid-1570s, when Catholics of merchant status were important? The sixty-seven Catholics named by the Earl of Huntingdon at York at this time were mostly women, several married to apparently genuinely conformist husbands and drawn from affluent trading families or the better-off governing class.<sup>9</sup> However, in the early years of the seventeenth-century recusant gentry and their servants in York were more dominant, as had been the case in the mid-1580s in Winchester.<sup>10</sup> Each of Herefordshire's market towns, Leominster, Bromyard, Kington, Ledbury, Pembridge, Ross and Weobley, had under 1,000 inhabitants in the late sixteenth-century and, despite a few wider trading contacts, townsmen grew their own food in gardens at the backs of houses and in the open fields, giving them much in common with larger villages in the county.<sup>11</sup> Yet the different built environment of these small towns, with houses on narrow burgage plots, cheek by jowl along narrow streets, and their concentrations of traders, may have had some impact on the character of any Catholic community. In Ledbury, for example, despite an estimated population of just over 600 in 1616, there were ten shoemakers, a glover, a saddler, a cutler, a hatter and three prominent mercers, and Ross was noted for its numerous ironsmiths and a large

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<sup>7</sup> Sheils, 'Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry', p. 116; H. Barlow, 'A 'lewd company' at prayer: Plebeian Catholics in Elizabethan Cheshire', (pre-publication draft). I am grateful to Howard for a copy of this draft. There is evidence of masses at Malpas in 1582 and in 1586; their occurrence in Passion week, the lengthy proceedings and the presence of not one but two priests suggests that these were 'more than routine events'.

<sup>8</sup> Sheils, 'Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry', p. 116.

<sup>9</sup> P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow* (London, 2011), p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> J. C. H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in York 1558-1791* (St Albans, 1970), pp. 85-86, 159; Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants', p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Dyer, 'Small market towns 1540-1700', pp. 96-99; S. Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town* (London, 2009), pp. 4-5.

leather goods district.<sup>12</sup> Were these characteristics reflected in the nature of plebeian Catholicism in any way?

This chapter looks first at the distribution of Catholics in the rural parishes of Herefordshire. The character of Catholicism north and east of the Wye is then described and analysed. Plebeian Catholicism was most marked in a group of rural parishes south and west of the Wye: its nature is considered next, followed by a discussion of the possible reasons behind its relative strength. The chapter ends with some observations on Catholicism in Hereford and in the county's small market towns.

### **The distribution of Catholics in the rural parishes**

Maps VII-IX summarise presentments for Catholic offences from Herefordshire's rural parishes. Data for the maps are from the archidiaconal courts for years with extant records between 1582 and 1638, and from the Dean's peculiar courts (Hereford deanery) for years with extant records between 1592 and April 1630. Together, the three maps provide an approximate picture of the distribution of non-gentry Catholics over the period.

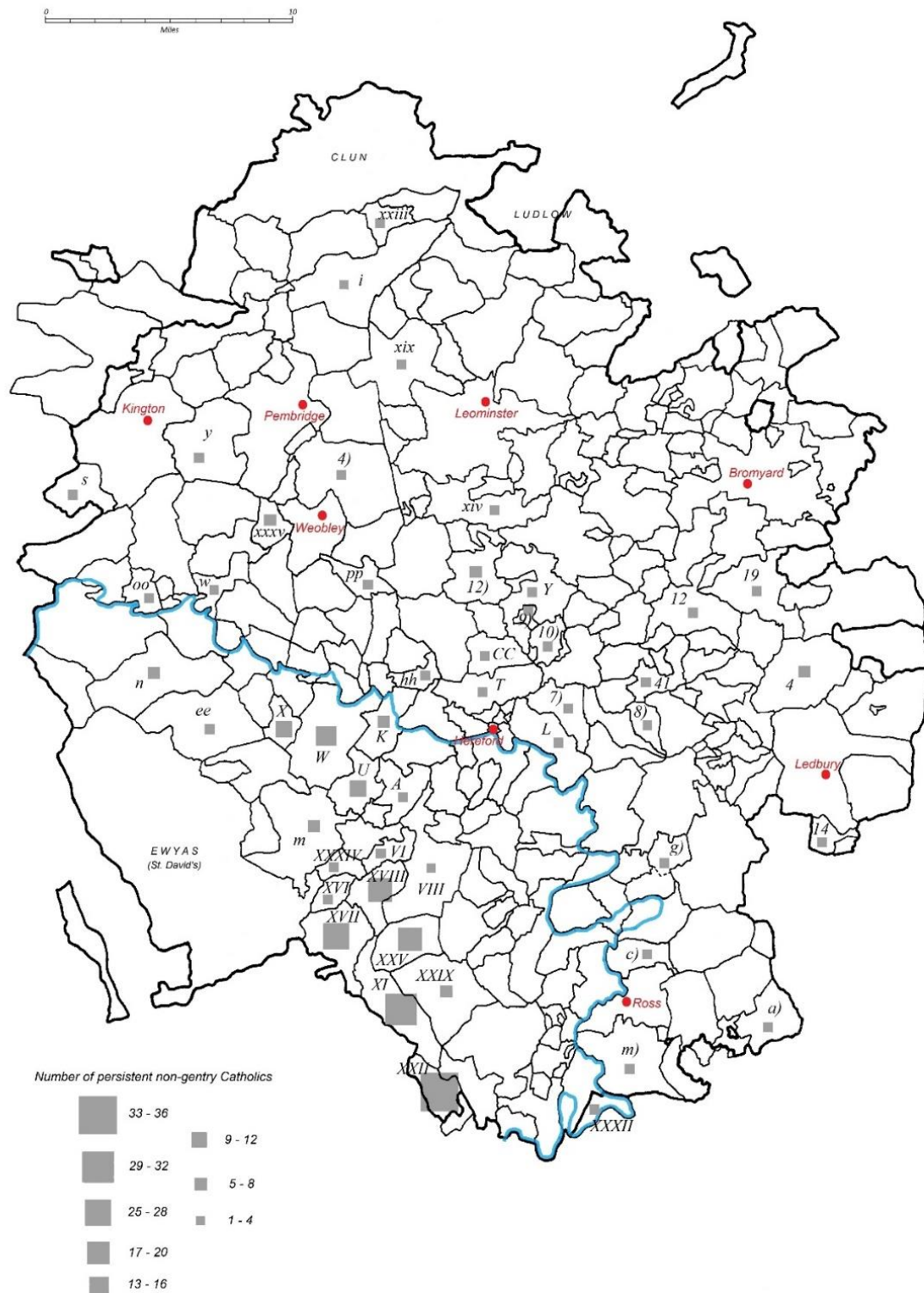
Map VII shows numbers of persistent non-gentry Catholics, that is those who were presented for four years or more. As noted in chapter two, bishops typically made a primary visitation in the first year of their office then sent out visitation articles at three-year intervals, with the pressure for full presentment diminishing in the intervening years.<sup>13</sup> Those presented for Catholic offences in a visitation year whose cases were not immediately cleared up at the first court were pursued through this three-year cycle and then often disappear from record. Re-appearance at the next visitation can thus be considered a measure of determination: those who re-appear have therefore been identified as persistent.

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<sup>12</sup> Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town*, pp. 26, 39-42; P. Hughes and H. Hurley, *The Story of Ross* (Almeley, 1999), p. 25-27.

<sup>13</sup> Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, p. iii.

*Map VII Rural parishes of Herefordshire presenting persistent plebeian Catholics between 1580 and 1640*



**KEY TO MAP VII**  
**Persistent plebeian Catholics**

**FROME DEANERY**

4 Bosbury  
12 Much Cowarne  
14 Donnington  
19 Bishop's Frome  
41 Yarkhill

**LEOMINSTER DEANERY**

xiv Hope under Dinmore  
xix Kingsland  
xxiii Leinthall Starks  
xxxv Sarnesfield

**HEREFORD DEANERY**

A Allensmore  
K Eaton Bishop  
L Hampton Bishop  
T Holmer  
U Kingstone  
W Madley  
X Tibberton  
Y Marden  
CC Pipe and Lyde

**ARCHENFIELD DEANERY**

VI St Devereux  
VIII Much Dewchurch  
XI Garway  
XVI Kenderchurch  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XXII Llanrothal  
XXV Orcop  
XXIX St Weonards  
XXXII Welsh Bicknor  
XXXIV Wormbridge

**ROSS DEANERY**

a) Aston Ingham  
c) Brampton Abbots  
g) How Caple with Sollers Hope  
m) Walford

**WESTON DEANERY**

4) Dilwyn  
7) Lugwardine  
8) Stoke Edith with Westhide  
9) Sutton St Michael  
10) Sutton St Nicholas  
12) Wellington

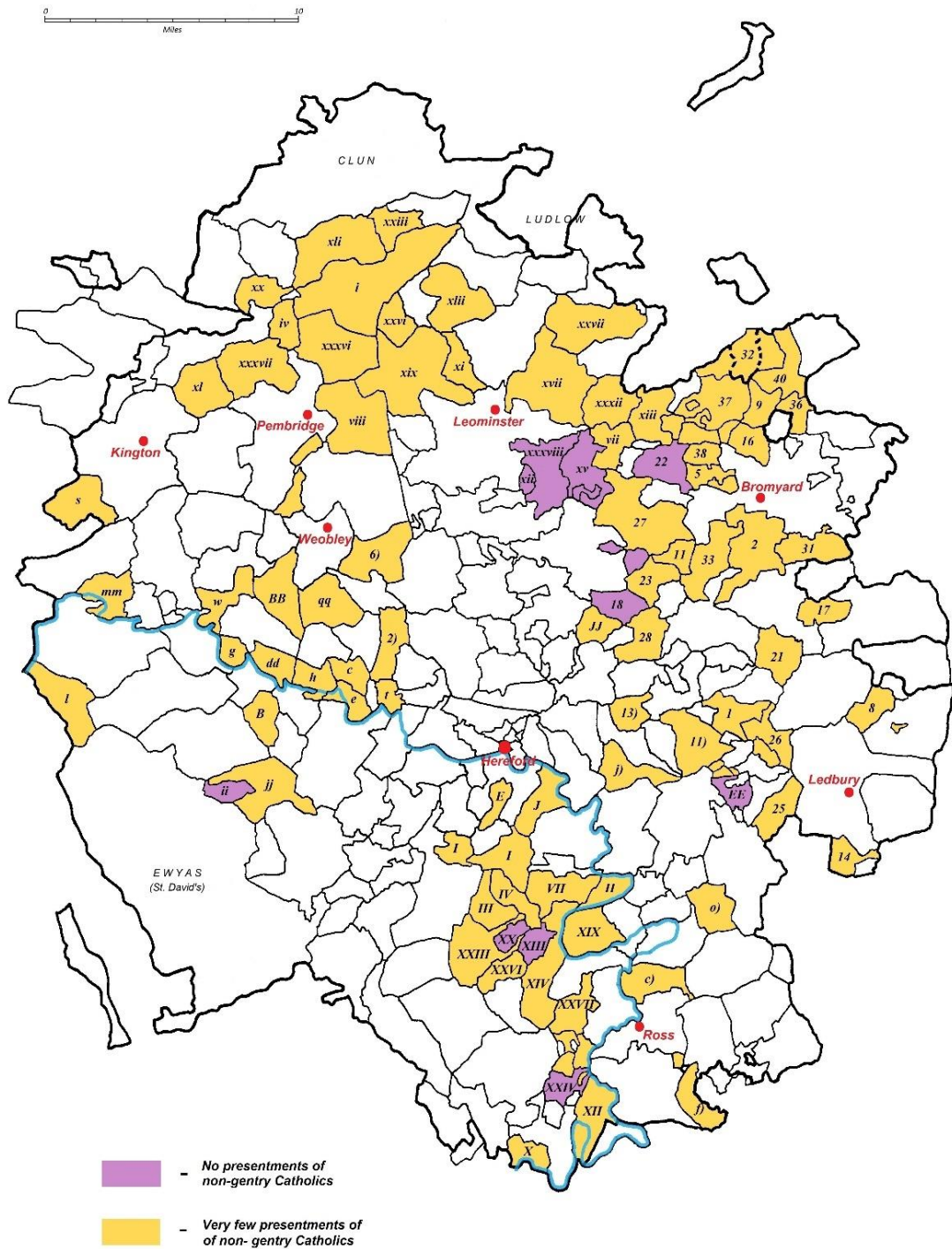
**WEOBLEY DEANERY**

m Abbey Dore  
n Dorstone  
s Huntington  
w Letton  
y Lyonshall  
ee Peterchurch  
hh Stretton  
oo Winforten  
pp Wormesley



Map VIII shows rural parishes which made no, or very few, non-gentry presentments. Most presentments in these parishes were of isolated individuals, with only the occasional presentment of two, three or four people in the same year. The total number of presentments rarely exceeded fourteen, presentments were spread out over the years, and those presented seldom made a second appearance in court.

*Map VIII Rural parishes of Herefordshire which made no, or very few, presentments between 1580 and 1640*



## **KEY TO MAP VIII**

**No or very few presentments of Catholics**

### **FROME DEANERY**

1 Asperton  
2 Avenbury  
5 Bridenbury  
8 Coddington  
9 Collington  
11 Little Cowarne  
14 Donnington  
16 Edwin Ralph  
17 Evesbatch  
18 Felton  
20 Canon Frome  
21 Castle Frome  
22 Grendon Bishop  
23 Ullingswick  
25 Little Marcle  
26 Munsley  
27 Pencombe  
26 Ocle Pichard  
31 Bishop Stanford  
32 Stoke Bliss  
33 Stoke Lacy  
36 Tedstone Wafer  
37 Thornbury  
38 Wacton  
40 Wolverlow

### **LEOMINSTER DEANERY**

i Aymestry  
iv Byton  
vii Docklow  
viii Eardisland  
xi Eyton  
xii Ford  
xiii Hatfield  
xv Humber  
xvii Kimbolton

### **HEREFORD DEANERY**

B Blakemere  
E Bullinghope  
I Dewshall  
J Dinedor  
BB Norton  
EE Putley  
JJ Preston Wynne

### **ARCHENFIELD DEANERY**

I Aconbury  
II Ballingham  
III Much Birch  
IV Little Birch  
VII Little Dewchurch  
X Ganarew  
XII Goodrich  
XIII Harewood  
XIV Hentland  
XIX Kings Caple  
XX Llandinabo  
XXIII Llanwarne  
XXIV Marstow  
XXVI Pencoyd  
XXVII Peterstowe

xix Kingsland  
xx Kinsham  
xxiii Leinthall Starks  
xxvi Lucton  
xxvii Middleton  
xxxii Pudleston  
xxxvi Shobdon  
xxxvii Staunton-on-Arrow  
xxxviii Stoke Prior  
xl Titley  
xli Wigmore  
xlii Yarpole

### **WEOBLEY DEANERY**

c Bishopstone  
e Bridge Sollers  
g Brobury  
h Byford  
l Cusop  
s Huntington  
w Letton  
dd Monnington-on-Wye  
ii Turnaston  
jj Vowchurch  
mm Whitney  
qq Yazor

### **ROSS DEANERY**

c) Brampton Abbots  
e) Hope Mansell  
i) Mordiford  
o) Yatton

### **WESTON DEANERY**

2) Brinsop  
6) King's Pyon  
11) Taddington  
13) Weston Beggard

Map IX summarises the presentment of plebeian Catholics by showing, over the whole period under consideration, how many times five or more plebeians were presented in any one year. One group of five or more has been termed a cluster. Five has been chosen as the basis for a cluster because it hints at a small community in the parish beyond one family – when families were presented they almost always included only two or three family members.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the smallest square on the map represents the presentment in a parish of one or two clusters between 1582 and 1638 (or 1592 and 1630 in the case of the Hereford deanery), the next size of square represents the presentment of three or four clusters, and so on. This method has various flaws: ‘five or more’ has no upper limit, the clusters may be spread out very differently over the years in any one parish, and no account is taken of who was newly presented, who was being followed up after a visitation or who persisted as an offender over many years. There is also a difference of nearly twenty years’ worth of presentments between the Hereford deanery and the rest of the county. There is therefore considerable potential for parishes in the same category to differ markedly from each other. In practice, however, these distortions are most pronounced in the parishes where more clusters were presented: table 3(i), below, illustrates that, as the number of clusters went up, the number of people in a cluster also tended to rise, partly reflecting an increase in persistent recusants. Nonetheless, parishes in the same category have enough in common to make them broadly comparable.<sup>15</sup> Map IX also indicates long-term gentry Catholic presence in a parish, defined as the presentment of the same family for ten years or more, or the more or less continuous presentment of various gentry families.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Small households were the norm in England in the early modern period; K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 2003), pp. 52, 76-77.

<sup>15</sup> Examples of parishes in the same category are given in Appendix II.

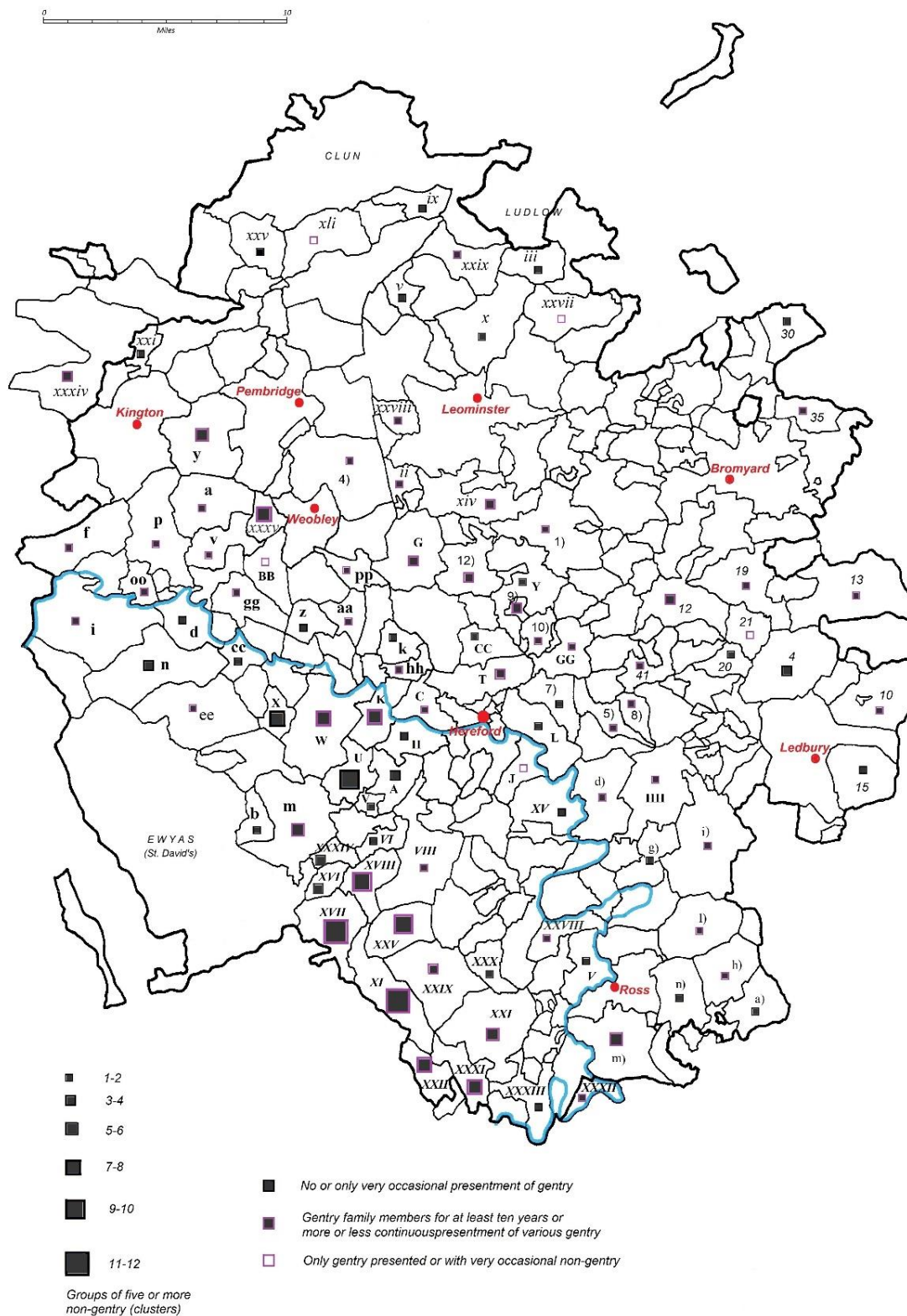
<sup>16</sup> The choice of ten years is arbitrary but is arguably a reasonable length of time for gentry Catholics to exert influence in a parish.

*Table 3(i) Examples of parishes on map IX, showing numbers presented<sup>17</sup>*

Year	Bredwardine one cluster in total	Old Radnor three clusters in total	Abbey Dore five clusters in total	Tibberton eight clusters in total	Kilpeck nine clusters in total	Kentchurch- eleven clusters in total
1582	2	<b>10</b>	4	0	0	0
1586	2	1	0	0	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>
1588	0	0	0	0	0	3
1595	0	<b>8</b>	3	1	1	<b>12</b>
1598	0	3	3	0	<b>8</b>	<b>51</b>
1600	0	0	2	0	3	0
1603	0	0	0	0	0	4
1604	0	0	0	0	0	<b>8</b>
1605	<b>6</b>	0	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>30</b>
1608	1	1	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	1	1
1609	0	2	4	2	<b>11</b>	<b>28</b>
1611	1	0	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	0	0
1612	0	0	0	<b>13</b>	0	0
1613	0	0	0	0	0	0
1614	2	<b>6</b>	0	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>34</b>
1617	4	0	0	0	0	<b>7</b>
1619	0	0	0	0	0	0
1621	0	0	0	2	0	0
1623	0	0	0	<b>5</b>	0	0
1625	0	0	<b>10</b>	3	<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>
1626	0	0	0	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>16</b>
1628	0	0	0	1	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>
1629	1	0	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	0
1633	3	0	0	No data	0	1
1635	1	1	2	No data	0	0
1637	0	1	0	No data	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>214</b>

<sup>17</sup> Numbers in bold indicate a cluster of five or more. The table illustrates the tendency for the numbers in a cluster to rise as the number of clusters increases.

*Map IX Rural parishes of Herefordshire which made most presentments of plebeian Catholics between 1580 to 1640, with significant gentry presence indicated*



## KEY TO MAP IX

Most presentments of plebeian Catholics;  
significant gentry presence indicated (**bold: no**  
**or very occasional gentry; purple: only gentry or**  
**very occasional non-gentry; plain: gentry for at**  
least ten years)

## FROME DEANERY

**4 Bosbury**  
10 Colwall  
12 Much Cowarne  
13 Cradley  
**15 Eastnor**  
19 Bishop's Frome  
**20 Canon Frome**  
**21 Castle Frome**  
**30 Upper Sapey**  
35 Tedstone Delamere  
41 Yarkhill

## LEOMINSTER DEANERY

ii Birley  
**iii Brimfield**  
**v Croft**  
**ix Elton**  
**x Eye**  
xiv Hope under Dinmore  
**xxi Knill**  
**xxv Lingen**  
**xxvii Middleton**  
xxviii Monkland  
xxix Orleton  
xxxiv Old Radnor  
xxxv Sarnesfield  
**xli Wigmore**

## ARCHENFIELD DEANERY

**V Bridstow**  
**VI St Devereux**  
VIII Much Dewchurch  
XI Garway  
**XV Holm Lacy**  
**XVI Kenderchurch**  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XXI Llangarren  
XXII Llanrothal  
XXV Orcop  
XXVIII Sellack  
XXIX St Weonards  
**XXX Tretire and Michaelchurch**  
XXXI Welsh Newton  
XXXII Welsh Bicknor  
**XXXIII Whitchurch**  
**XXXIV Wormbridge**

## HEREFORD DEANERY

**A Allensmore**  
C Breinton  
G Canon Pyon  
**H Clehonger**  
K Eaton Bishop  
**J Dinedor**  
**L Hampton Bishop**  
T Holmer **X Tibberton**  
Y Marden  
**BB Norton Canon**  
**CC Pipe and Lyde**  
GG Withington  
HH Woolhope  
**U Kingstone**  
**V Thruxton**  
W Madley

## ROSS DEANERY

**a) Aston Ingham**  
d) Fownhope  
**g) How Caple with Sollers Hope**  
h) Linton  
i) Much Marcle  
l) Upton Bishop  
m) Walford  
**n) Weston under Penyard**

## WESTON DEANERY

1) Bodenham  
4) Dilwyn  
5) Dormington  
**7) Lugwardine**  
8) Stoke Edith with Westhide  
9) Sutton St Michael  
10) Sutton St Nicholas  
12) Wellington

## WEOBLEY DEANERY

a Almeley  
**b Bacton**  
**d Bredwardine**  
f Brilley  
i Clifford  
**k Credenhill**  
m Abbey Dore  
**n Dorstone**  
p Eardisley  
v Kinnersley  
y Lyonshall  
**z Mansell Gamage**  
aa Mansell Lacy  
**cc Moccas**  
ee Peterchurch  
gg Staunton-on-Wye  
hh Stretton  
oo Winforten  
pp Wormesley

The maps demonstrate that the greatest concentration of plebeian Catholics was located south and west of the river Wye, in the Whitsun riots areas - the parishes between Tibberton and Hereford city in the Hereford deanery plus Abbey Dore in the Weobley deanery - and the parishes of western Archenfield which run close to the Monmouthshire border. All but three of the parishes with five or more persistent non-gentry Catholics and all but one of the parishes with seven or more clusters of non-gentry Catholics were in these areas.

It is also clear from the maps that the parishes of eastern Archenfield, in marked contrast to the western half of the deanery, had no persistent plebeian Catholics, and except for Bridstow (with one cluster in 1613 and one in 1635), Sellack (with one cluster in 1582) and Whitchurch (with one cluster in 1625), presented very few non-gentry Catholics over the sixty year period.<sup>18</sup> However, most of the parishes with no or few presentments of non-gentry Catholics lay north and east of the river Wye, particularly along the northern edge of the Leominster deanery, west and east of Leominster itself, and throughout much of the Frome deanery around Bromyard. The majority of non-gentry presentments north and east of the river came from parishes running across the middle of the county, or from Ross deanery. Yet here too presentments were lower than in the Whitsun riots area, with persistent plebeian Catholics in just under half of the higher presenting parishes, and with only Lyonhalls in Weobley deanery, Old Radnor, Sarnesfield, and Hope-under-Dinmore in Leominster deanery, Bosbury and Much Cowarne in Frome deanery, Wellington in Weston deanery, Holmer in Hereford deanery and Walford in Ross deanery, parishes that are widely separated from one another, presenting more than one or two clusters.

Map IX also illustrates that there was a significant Catholic gentry presence in most of the parishes where non-gentry Catholics were presented. This is true of thirty-five out of sixty

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<sup>18</sup> The eastern boundary of Archenfield corresponds mostly to the course of the River Wye.



(fifty-eight per cent) of the parishes with only one or two clusters, eight out of twelve (sixty-six per cent) of the parishes with three or four clusters, and thirteen out of fifteen (eighty-six per cent) with five clusters or more.<sup>19</sup> In many cases, the gentry were members of the ‘squirearchical’ families identified by McParlin, families with long histories in the county and whose members had represented the shire or been administrators there before the Reformation.<sup>20</sup> Wallwyns, for example, a Catholic gentry presence at Sutton St Nicholas and Much Cowarne, had been members of Parliament and high sheriffs in the fifteenth-century, the Lingens of Lyonshall, Wellington and Stoke Edith had an ancestor who founded a priory in the county in 1189, and the Breintons of Stretton had been mayors of Hereford.<sup>21</sup>

### **Plebeian Catholicism in rural parishes north and east of the Wye, character and analysis**

In many of Herefordshire’s parishes, particularly north and east of the Wye, so few people of non-gentry status were presented for Catholic offences, and so fleetingly, that it seems very unlikely that there was any supportive Catholic community in these localities. Typical were Titley in Leominster deanery where one person was presented in 1605, one in 1608, three in 1611 and one in 1616, or Mordiford in Ross, where one person was presented in 1596, two in 1605, one in 1608, one in 1617, two in 1621, one in 1628, four in 1629 and one in 1638.<sup>22</sup> None of these people re-appeared in court and none of them was related, in so far as the criterion of surnames can be used to make this judgement. Of course, there may well have been others in their parishes who were conformers yet sympathetic to Catholicism. This is occasionally apparent in the records. At Dinedor in 1592, for example, Elizabeth Churchyard

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<sup>19</sup> Maps of the presentments for the key reporting years 1605, 1614 and 1625 are in Appendix III.

<sup>20</sup> McParlin, *The Herefordshire Gentry in County Government*, pp. 18-24.

<sup>21</sup> Robinson, *Manors and Mansions*, pp. 153, 202, 293.

<sup>22</sup> HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/168, Acts of Office 1611; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621; HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628; HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630; HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639.

harked back to the days of priestly celibacy when she accused the vicar's children of being 'pristes chyttes', and at Yazor, similarly, in 1614, Richard Powell criticised the vicar's lack of a tonce (tonsure).<sup>23</sup> In 1611 at Bridge Sollers, John Shepard, chosen churchwarden, 'refuseth to serve the same', and in 1614 George and William Philpotts attended the night-time burial of their 'popish recusant' brother Thomas.<sup>24</sup>

The parishes which made very few presentments were not entirely without persistent recusants, but the number was low – just eight people out of a total of 154.<sup>25</sup> Of course, it is possible that the eight had support from wider contacts beyond their own parishes. The widow Alice Bande of Donnington was tenant to Mr Thomas Beale of Yarkhill, a parish ten miles away. Beale was himself a recusant and, in turn, tenant to the Catholic Dame Bridget Bodenham.<sup>26</sup> Yeoman Thomas Goodyear of Leinthall Starkes, a recusant between 1625 and 1635, was an aspiring gentleman. He appeared before the heralds in 1634 and, although obliged to join the list of those who agreed they could not claim gentility, arguably associated with and was perhaps supported by Mrs Anna Bridges, presented for not receiving communion in 1635 and the only other person in his parish accused of Catholic offences.<sup>27</sup> Grace Coleman, wife of Thomas Coleman, blacksmith, of Kingsland, had been a servant to the Catholic John Vaughan, esquire, at Huntington where, early in 1614 and four years before she was presented

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<sup>23</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595; HAS HD4/1/173, Acts of Office 1614.

<sup>24</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614. Thomas Philpotts was 'late of Sarnesfield', where he was presented as a recusant between 1605 and 1613.

<sup>25</sup> The eight persistent recusants were Joan ap Thomas at Letton (1605 to 1614), John Williams at Huntington (1629 to 1633), William Tomes (1609-1629) and William Marshe (1621-1629) at Brampton Abbots, Alice Bande widow of yeoman William Bande at Donnington, Thomas Goodyear, yeoman, at Leinthall Starkes (1625 to 1635), and Thomas Coleman, blacksmith, and his wife Grace at Kingsland (1614 to 1635); HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1637-1639.

<sup>26</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register. Mr Thomas Beale was presented for recusancy at Yarkhill in 1595 and 1605; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. Dame Bridget Bodenham was described as 'an imperious dame who countenances all priests and recusants' by the Bishop of Hereford in 1605; TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online.

<sup>27</sup> M. P. Siddons, (editor and transcriber), *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, (London, 2002), p. 184; HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637.

at Kingsland, she had been excommunicated for not attending church: she may have kept up some contact with recusants in the former parish.<sup>28</sup>

Yet the majority of those who were open about their Catholic allegiance north and east of the Wye were not plebeians but gentry. Some Catholic gentry families appear to have had very little impact on those of lower social status: they were inward-looking – perhaps the ‘private gardens’ suggested by Rowlands.<sup>29</sup> Thus the Unetts at Castle Frome and the Crofts at Wigmore were presented almost exclusively as small family households, whilst the Wigmores at Lucton and the Havards at Eyton were barely mentioned in the church court records at all and would not be known about without the testimony of sons who became priests.<sup>30</sup> Other Catholic gentry families supported extended households which included both lower-status gentry and some plebeian members.<sup>31</sup> At Sarnesfield between 1605 and 1612, for example, Mrs Alice Monnington’s household consisted of widows Mrs Matilda Draper and Marie Frisor (perhaps the Marie Frisor wife of yeoman John who had been named a recusant in the Pipe Rolls from 1586 to 1588 at the neighbouring parish of Dilwyn), the spinster Sara Frisor (possibly her daughter), and Thomas Phelpottes, of unknown status, as well as servants ‘the oulde Elinor, Elizabeth *filia* (girl) and the oulde Elizabeth’.<sup>32</sup> It is clear from the entry in the bishop’s register of 1616 that Matilda Draper, Thomas Phelpottes and the Frisors were part of

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<sup>28</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>29</sup> Rowlands, ‘Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625’, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> At Castle Frome, Unett family members were presented in 1600, 1602, 1608, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1619 and 1621, and joined only twice by people of non-gentry status, one person in 1608 and two people in 1611; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1617-1619; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621. The Crofts were presented in 1586 as ‘Thomas Crofte, armiger, Andrea his wife, Edward his son and Anna his daughter’, and in 1595 as ‘Andrea Crofte widow, Thomas Crofte gentleman, and Dorothy Crofte, wife of Thomas’; HAS HD4/1/151, Acts of Office 1586; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596. Richard Wigmore testified that his mother was a Catholic until her death, and his brother Robert Wigmore that she had kept a priest for many years. Francis Blount alias Havard [sic] testified that his parents and siblings were all Catholics; *Liber Ruber* (Red Book), entries 487, 528, 757, reproduced in A. Kenny (ed.), *The “Responsa Scholarum” of the English College, Rome, Part I, 1598-1621*, *Catholic Record Society*, 54 (Newport, 1962), pp. 237-239, 274-275, 445-446.

<sup>31</sup> The lower status of the sheltered gentry is implicit in the fact of their being sheltered but can also be deduced from their family names which were rarely those of long-standing or office-serving county families.

<sup>32</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606, to HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612; Bowler and McCann, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581-1592*, p. 64.

the Monnington household: they were said to ‘sojourning in the capital messuage of Richard Monnington, esquire’.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, at Much Cowarne, yeoman John Pewters and spinster Margaret Sharpe were ‘housed’ in 1613 by Mr Edward Wrenford, along with gentlewoman Alice Hill, while Wrenford, in turn, was tenant to Mrs Alice Berington of Stafford.<sup>34</sup>

Two of the above parishes with extended gentry households, Sarnesfield and Much Cowarne, can also be grouped with Herefordshire parishes which had a presentment profile that fits Bossy’s category of ‘coagulations’ of non-gentry around the houses of Catholic gentlemen.<sup>35</sup> Parishes in this group are listed on table 3(ii) below:

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<sup>33</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>34</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register. John Pewters was named as a recusant from 1605 to 1642; Mrs Alice Hill from 1609 to 1614; Margaret Sharpe from 1609 to 1621. Edmund Wrenford ‘received into his house’ John Pewters and Alice Hill ‘who refuse to come to church’ in 1613; Margaret Sharpe was ‘a retayner’ with him in 1614; in 1616 Wrenford had dealings with Pewters in ‘their farm at Upcourt’. A property case in 1624 named Pewters and Alice Hill spinster as sojourners in the house of Edward Wrenford, gentleman, and tenant to Mrs Alice Berington of Stafford; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639; HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642; TNA C 3/346/12, Edwards v. Pewtresse 1624. Families with gentry and plebeian extended households were also presented at Sutton St Michael, Sutton St Nicholas, Wellington, Canon Pyon, Old Radnor, Kinnersley and Yarkhill. However, there were also years when these gentry households were presented without any mention of non-gentry Catholics – for example, at Much Cowarne, a Berington household and associated gentry were sole recusants between 1608 and 1614; at Wellington a Clarke household and associated gentry were the sole recusants in 1596 and 1598, and at Old Radnor the Vaughans were sole recusants in 1605 and 1611; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1597-1598; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609 to HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>35</sup> Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 169-170.

**Table 3(ii) Rural parishes north and east of the Wye with long-term gentry Catholics and persistent plebeian Catholics<sup>36</sup>**

Parish	Gentry	Years of gentry family presentment	Number of clusters of 5 or more plebeians	Persistent Catholics (four years or more)	Years of presentment	Comments
Sutton St Michael	SEABOURNE  Wallwyn	1582-1631 (49 years) 1620-1638 (18 years)	4	Thomas Sheward Elinor Sheward wife of Thomas Margaret Millward David Jones Mary Jones wife of David Elizabeth Bowker Mary Voyle wife of Richard	1605-1613 1605-1613  1625-1629 1635-1640 1635-1640 1635-1640 1635-1640	
Sarnesfield	MONNINGTON	1582-1621 (39 years)	8	Anne Hopley wife of Richard Marie Frisor Thomas Phelpottes The Old Elinor The Old Elizabeth Francis Stonor Thomas Pantoll Joan Abell wife of John	1582-1586 1605-1613 1605-1613 1605-1613 1605-1613 1609-1613 1613-1627 1618-1627	Household member Household member Household servant Household servant
Wellington	CLARKE  PEMBRIDGE  Moore	1582-1619 (37 years) 1600-1635 (35 years)  1625-1638 (13 years)	4	Lettice  William Haworth minor Joan ap Evan Anna Jones Joan Hurdes	1600-1611  1605-1614 1605-1613 1605-1613 1609-1613	Servant to Mr Richard Clarke
Sutton St Nicholas	WALLWYN  LINGEN	1595-1631 (36 years) 1586-1613 (27 years)	2	Thomas Shepard Joanna Jauncey Catherine Motley	1586-1596 1595-1605 1613-1628	Servant
Lyonshall	BRIDGES	1605-1640 (35 years)	5	William Bevan Thomas Bevan Thomas Lewis	1595-1600 1595-1605 1595-1605	Cowper
Much Cowarne	BERINGTON	1605-1640 (35 years)	4	John Pewters Margaret Sharpe	1605-1640 1609-1621	Tenant/household member Household member
Hope-under-Dinmore	BERINGTON STRETE	1605-1640 (35 years) 1605-1640 (35 years)	3	Mary wife of John Nichols John Higgins	1609-1621 1605-1611	Tanner
Kinnersley	VAUGHAN	1582-1617 (35 years)	2	John Kedward	1582-1586	
Dilwyn	TOMPKINS	1595-1625 (30 years)	1	Thomas Dee Richard Morris minor	1595-1605 1595-1605	
Stoke Edith and Westhide	RAWLEY but a LINGEN manor	1588-1608 (30 years)	2	Richard Cardwardine Mary Mason Anna Clarke Anna Jauncy wife of Jacob Jacob Jauncy Joyce Jauncy widow of Richard; James Jauncy junior Joyce Jauncy daughter of James junior	1605-1611 1625-1629 1625-1629 1600-1611 1602-1608 1635-1640  1635-1640 1635-1640	Sidesman 1585 <sup>37</sup> and tenant farmer of the Lingens
Winforten	Vaughan	1595-1613 (18 years)	2	Elizabeth Richards wife of Walter Thomas Chambers William Weaver Thomas Beavon	1605-1614  1629-1633 1629-1633 1629-1633	Yeoman Yeoman; witnessed Catholic gentry will 1612 <sup>38</sup>
Wormesley	Gage	1605-1614 (9 years)	1	Elizabeth Waithe	1605-1616	Wife of husbandman and tenant to Mr Edward Gage
Bishop's Frome	Downes	1586-1595 (9 years)	2	Anna Perkes wife of Richard Thomas Hidges	1579-1587 1582-1588	

<sup>36</sup> Gentry families presented for recusancy for thirty years or more shown in capital letters.

<sup>37</sup> HAS J72/8, Stoke Edith churchwardens' accounts 10 August 1585; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>38</sup> TNA prob11/122, The Will of William Vaughan of Winforten 29 January 1612.

Gentry families who were presented to the church courts for recusancy for at least thirty years are shown on table 3(ii) in capital letters. Five of the ten parishes where such families lived presented four or more clusters of non-gentry Catholics over the period 1582 to 1638 and all ten parishes presented persistent non-gentry Catholics, as did Winforten, where gentry Vaughans were presented for a period of eighteen years, and Wormesley and Bishop's Frome, where gentry were presented for shorter periods. Long-term Catholic gentry did not necessarily mean many plebeian Catholic presentments, as the Unetts, Crofts, Wigmores and Havards mentioned above demonstrate, and as table 3(ii) also, shows - the Tompkins at Dilwyn and the Vaughans at Kinnersley were recusants for thirty years and more but were associated with only one or two clusters of plebeian Catholics and very few persistent recusants. Yet, on the evidence of the table overall, it is hard to doubt a seigneurial influence. Of course, given the importance of land in the early modern period, each of the gentry families listed is highly likely to have been a landlord in their parish. In a few cases land ownership can be established. Thus, Stoke Edith manor was in the possession of the gentry Lingen family. The manor went briefly to Mr William Shelley, one of the 'influential persons apparently prepared in the interests of Mary Queen of Scots', who married Jane Lingen, and then to the crown on his attainder for treason in 1583, but reverted to the recusant Edward Lingen under James I.<sup>39</sup> The Exchequer charged Westhide manor to the recusant Henry Rawley in 1598 and again from 1610 to 1613.<sup>40</sup> At Winforten, Vaughans were listed as paying recusancy fines on the manor between 1598 and

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<sup>39</sup> Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 293; TNA SP Elizabeth XCIX, CLVII, reproduced in J. B. Wainwright, (ed.), *Two Lists of Influential Persons Apparently Prepared in the Interests of Mary Queen of Scots, 1574 and 1582*, *Catholic Record Society*, Miscellanea VIII, 13 (London, 1913), pp. 86-142, p. 98; TNA Lansdowne MSS LI, The names of such priestes and recusants as have been lately apprehended and committed to sundry prisons in and about the Citie of London, Prison Lists 1582, and TNA SP Elizabeth, Prison Certificates from June 1582 to March 1583, pp. 28-36, reproduced in J. B. Wainwright (ed.), *The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, 1581-1602*, *Catholic Record Society*, Miscellanea II, 2 (London, 1906), pp. 219 – 288, p. 257. Shelley was attainted of High Treason but then respited on 30 November 1586; TNA SP Elizabeth, XCV, The Lord's Resolution upon prisoners, reproduced in Wainwright, *The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I*, p. 263. Blanche, wife of Edward Lingen, knight, was presented as a recusant at Stoke Edith from 1614 to 1625 and Edward was presented in 1631; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614 to HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD4/1/182, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>40</sup> TNA E 376/8, 1598-1599; Personal Recusancy fines; I am grateful to Simon Healy for this information.

1608, and Richard Strete and William Berington were both charged for recusancy for Hope-under-Dinmore in 1633.<sup>41</sup> Most of the land in Wellington, and the nearby and adjacent parishes of Sutton St Michael and Sutton St Nicholas seems to have been in Catholic ownership. A branch of the Sarnesfield Monningtons held part of Wellington manor and Clarkes held the rest; Pembridges held the manor at Wootton, close to the main village; and Moores purchased Burghope, at the northern end of the parish, around 1600.<sup>42</sup> Mrs Anna Monnington, presented as a recusant at Wellington in 1595 and 1598, continued on the recusant rolls for property in the parish until 1635.<sup>43</sup> Wallwyns owned part of the manor of Sutton St Nicholas, and Lingen were chief tenants of the remaining part.<sup>44</sup> The same Lingen family purchased the lordship of neighbouring Sutton St Michael, and the Seabournes held Frene manor within the parish.<sup>45</sup>

Nonetheless, if persistent non-gentry recusancy is taken as a measure, seigneurial influence does not seem to have been particularly strong: the number of persistent plebeian Catholics in these parishes is remarkably low. In a few cases there is definite evidence of connections between these plebeian recusants and their local Catholic gentry. John Pewters and Margaret Sharpe, were tenants, as noted above. Richard Carwardine occupied a 'farme' at Stoke Edith which belonged to the recusant Lingen family.<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Waithe of Wormesley was also a tenant to Catholic gentry, and, perhaps significantly, her recusancy was last reported in 1616, the year that her landlord Edward Gage left Herefordshire on indictment for recusancy and went to live at Bentley, near Lewes in Sussex.<sup>47</sup> Thomas Chambers was one of the witnesses of the will of Mr William Vaughan of Winforten.<sup>48</sup> Four were servants - the

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<sup>41</sup> TNA E 376/8, Recusant Roll 1598-1599 to TNA E 376/16, Recusant Roll 1607-1608; TNA E 376/40, Recusant Roll 1633-1634.

<sup>42</sup> Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, pp. 323-324.

<sup>43</sup> Bowler, Recusant Roll 1594-1596, p. 157; TNA E 376/8, Recusant Roll 1598-1599 to TNA E 376/42, Recusant Roll 1635-1636.

<sup>44</sup> Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 300.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>46</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>47</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>48</sup> TNA prob11/122, The Will of William Vaughan of Winforten 29 January 1612.

Old Elinor and the Old Elizabeth at Sarnesfield, Lettice at Wellington (no surnames are given in the records), and Jane Jauncy of Sutton St Nicholas - she was one of the servants who buried the recusant Mrs Seabourne in 1611.<sup>49</sup>

Much more commonly, however, servants were presented only once or twice for Catholic offences: at Sutton St Nicholas, for example, Lowria servant to Sir John Wallwyn was named in 1605, and maidservant Florence and manservants David and Roger Jones were presented only on the occasion when they helped Jane Jauncy with Mrs Seabourne's burial in 1611.<sup>50</sup> William Shuter of Wellington, presented for not receiving the communion in 1619, worked 'in the quarrie of Mr Richard Clarke'.<sup>51</sup> Such people may have been resident for only a short time in the parishes or they may have continued as church papists. They may even have been opportunists, prepared to be influenced by Catholic gentry whilst they served them. There is an intriguing entry at Canon Norton which, in the absence of other evidence, could be interpreted this way: Peter Lloyd, knight, and his family were presented as recusants in 1605, alongside 'John his miller, Nicholas his heath loader and Kathryn servant to Mr Lloyd'.<sup>52</sup> Of these three the miller, at least, is likely to have been a permanent resident in Norton parish, but no John or miller appears again in the records.

Although it is not possible to establish many direct links between gentry and non-gentry Catholics, plausible connections can sometimes be made between an incidence of priests in gentry houses reported to the church courts and little groups of plebeian Catholics who may have attended masses at the house.<sup>53</sup> On a separate page at the end of the 1586-1587 church

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<sup>49</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611.

<sup>50</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611.

<sup>51</sup> HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619.

<sup>52</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>53</sup> There was no shortage of priests in the Hereford diocese. Bishop Robert Bennet told Cecil in 1605 that he knew of 'above twenty priests', and in 1607 the yeoman Richard Bubb of Seifton in south Shropshire gave officials at the Council in the Marches vivid descriptions of twenty-three priests who were working in the Marches, identifying six in particular who frequented Herefordshire. The situation had not changed much by 1626 when Bishop Francis Godwin noted in a letter to Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacy that 'it is well enough known that many ... priests do lurk about our Countrey'; TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 13 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the*



court book, the names of sixteen plebeians were bracketed together below the heading ‘Edward Clarke, gentleman of Wellington, who exists as an excommunicate but did not come to come to court’.<sup>54</sup> Most can be presumed to have been of humble status – only Anna Rogers, widow, was named as a subsidy payer in 1590.<sup>55</sup> Edward Clarke’s excommunication was clearly for recusancy as he was on the Exchequer rolls as a recusant from 1580 to 1586: were the sixteen perhaps taking advantage of priests at his house?<sup>56</sup> Wellington was certainly a venue for priests by 1591 when two members of the Council in the Marches, Fabian Phillips and Thomas Atkins, accused each other of knowing ‘that massing priests did run to the house of (Edward’s brother) Richard Clarke in Wellington’, and that masses were usually said there.<sup>57</sup> In 1605, another short-lived group of sixteen non-gentry parishioners was presented from Wellington for Catholic offences, this time alongside Richard Clarke and his family.<sup>58</sup> The Clarkes were reported to be ‘highly Jesuited’ that year with Robert Jones among their visitors, and there was an old Marian priest, Paul Spence, living with Edward.<sup>59</sup> At Monkland near Leominster the nine people of probable lowly non-gentry status presented in 1602 and the two presented in 1605 for non-attendance may have been part of a congregation served by Jesuit Robert Jones, said in 1607 to be ‘frequenting the house of John Aubrey, gentleman, of Munckland, tenant to Mr Blount’.<sup>60</sup> Again, similarly to the case of Elizabeth Waithe at Wormesley whose

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*Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 525, State Papers online; TNA SP 14/28/122/1, Report of Richard Bubb, yeoman of Shropshire, to the Council in the Marches 1607; D. R. Woolf, ‘Godwin, Francis (1562–1633)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); BL Add MS 11055, Scudamore Papers.

<sup>54</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office, 1586-1587.

<sup>55</sup> TNA E 179/118/337, Lay Subsidy Grimsworth 1590; Anna Rogers, widow, was assessed on lands worth £3 3s.

<sup>56</sup> Bowler, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581-1592*, p. 38.

<sup>57</sup> TNA STAC 5/A6/38, Philips v. Atkins 1591; TNA STAC 5/A56/27, Atkins v. Phillips 1591. Two priests named in the Star Chamber cases between Phillips and Atkins were both identified as seminaries, one called Overton and another called Jeyner but there is no reference to an Overton or a Jeyner in either of Anstruther’s volumes; G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priest, Elizabethan I* (Gateshead, 1968); G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests, Early Stuarts II* (Great Wakering, 1975). Penry Williams comments that the facts about the presence of priests mentioned in these cases were not disputed by either party to the suit, which lends credibility; P. Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958), p. 98, footnote 39.

<sup>58</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>59</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605; TNA SP 14/28/122/1, Report of Richard Bubb 1607.

<sup>60</sup> HAS HD 4/1/160, Acts of Office 1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; TNA SP 14/28/122/1, Report of Richard Bubb 1607. None of the eleven people of non-gentry status appeared on the lay subsidy rolls

presentments stopped abruptly when her landlord absconded, it may be significant that there were no non-gentry recusants at Monkland after 1609, by which time Mrs Mary Blount, the recusant presented most often in the parish for the twenty-two year period prior to 1605, had moved away to Weobley, seven miles distant. Mary Blount and her husband had presumably gone to live with their daughter, thus leaving any non-gentry congregation at Monkland, if that was what it was, bereft of the support of a priest at their house.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps, too, the eight plebeian Catholics presented for recusancy at Orleton in 1609 were part of the congregation of the priest who buried Mr Michael Vaughan ‘in the night’, and the steady trickle of offenders at Much Marcle was connected to priests at Hellens, home of the Wallwyn family, where Hodgetts has noted the existence of a priests’ hole as well as a stone table with five consecration crosses which is still visible in the great hall.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, some of the non-gentry Catholics presented from the parishes north and east of the Wye where long-term gentry Catholics were resident may have been connected to the gentry because gentry were their landlords, or were harbouring priests, or both. Their numbers, however, as noted above, were not high, and certainly did not approach the sixty convicted alongside Edward Morgan of Llantarnam in Monmouthshire in 1606.<sup>63</sup> The situation in this area of Herefordshire was more akin to that of the rural manor of Hornchurch, Essex, partly

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for Monkland in 1591 or 1611, although one, a Thomas Bedford, may have been related to either or both of John Bedford and Richard Bedford, assessed on lands worth £3 in 1591. John was assessed for the same amount in 1611, and a BLANK Bedford for 20s. in 1611, TNA E 179/118/334, Lay Subsidy Stretford 1591; TNA E 179/118/421, Lay Subsidy Stretford March 1611.

<sup>61</sup> HAS HD4/1/150, Acts of Office 1582-1583; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. Jane Blount, daughter of Mary and Roger Blount, married Jacob Bridges of Weobley, and all four were excommunicated for not attending church in Weobley in 1608; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office, 1608-1609. For the marriage of Jane Blount, daughter of Roger and Mary, to Jacob Bridges, gentleman, see Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 137.

<sup>62</sup> HAS HD4/1/166, Acts of Office 1609. The altar at Hellens was described by Hodgetts, but the Wallwyns of Hellens were not reported or fined for recusancy; M. Hodgetts, ‘Elizabethan Recusancy in Worcestershire and Herefordshire’, privately published paper for Wales and the Marches Catholic History Society (Llantrisant, 2005), pp. 3-24. There were other gentry Catholics at Much Marcle: Richard Kirle and his wife between 1605 and 1627, and a gentry Havard family was fined for recusancy between 1606 and 1627. Plebeians were presented in 1603, 1605, 1608, 1614, 1621, 1628 and 1638; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603; HAS HD4/1/162 Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621; HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628; HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1638.

<sup>63</sup> Pugh, ‘Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I’, p. 84.

held by New College, Oxford, which seemed to have been 'willing to grant leases to people who continued in the old faith' but where, nonetheless, there was only a small number of plebeian Catholic families.<sup>64</sup>

These low numbers are not particularly surprising. Gentry houses used as venues for masses in other parts of the country did not necessarily attract large numbers of plebeian Catholics. Even along the coast of Hampshire, used by missionary priests landing from the continent, there were relatively low numbers around the Catholic gentry homes which probably acted as centres for mass: Paul named eight recusant gentry families living in parishes within easy reach of the shores in the south of the county, but between 1598 and 1603, for example, two of these parishes presented three recusants, one presented five recusants, one eight, and the other four thirteen, sixteen, eighteen and nineteen.<sup>65</sup> And, while there are examples of Catholic landlords having considerable influence over their tenants, such as the Blundells of Little Crosby in Lancashire who established the manor as a Catholic refuge from the Reformation onwards by inviting their co-religionists to become tenants, and the Inglebys of Nidderdale in Yorkshire who used threats to keep tenants on their side when a new and strongly Protestant landlord established himself in the valley, the English gentry did not, on the whole, wield the powers of their European counterparts.<sup>66</sup> The authority of the lord over his tenants was often balanced, and sometimes overridden, by the customs of the manor.<sup>67</sup> Tenants could side-step obligations in other ways, too. In a petition to the Council in the Marches in 1610 Hereford juror Richard Williams demonstrated this nicely: he dissociated himself and others from their 'natural' landlord because of that landlord's recusancy and declared that he being a

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<sup>64</sup> M. K. McIntosh, *A Community Transformed: the Manor and Liberty of Havering 1500-1620* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 196-7.

<sup>65</sup> Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants in the time of Elizabeth I', pp. 79-80. Paul did not distinguish gentry from non-gentry recusants in these figures.

<sup>66</sup> G. Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: the Mental World of a Seventeenth-Century Gentleman* (Manchester, 2010), p. 76; A. Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley c. 1596-1615', *Past and Present*, 193 (2006), pp. 41-72; Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, p. 174.

<sup>67</sup> Rowlands, 'Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625', p. 19.

‘tenant and servant in livery to Mr Edward Lyngen who was cosen germane to Sir Thomas Coningsbye’s mother, and Mr Lyngyn himself being a recusant, all his tenants and followers rely wholie upon Sir Thomas’.<sup>68</sup>

There were other plebeian Catholics north and east of the Wye who lived in parishes without prominent gentry Catholics, in situations akin, perhaps, to those of the scattered households identified by Sheils in Yorkshire.<sup>69</sup> They are listed on table 3(iii) below:

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<sup>68</sup> TNA SP 14/31, f. 82, Gentlemen of Hereford to Sir Herbert Croft stating their dislike of the recent attempts made to bring them again under the jurisdiction of the Marches court 30 January 1608. The petition was in support of Sir Herbert Croft’s stance on whether the Council of the Marches should have authority over Herefordshire. For Edward Lingen’s recusancy see footnote 38.

<sup>69</sup> Sheils, ‘Catholics and their neighbours in a rural community: Egton chapelry’, p. 116.

**Table 3(iii) Rural parishes north and east of the Wye with persistent plebeian Catholics but no long-term gentry Catholics**

Parish	Gentry gentry	Number of clusters of 5 or more plebeians	Persistent plebeian Catholics (four years or more)	Years of presentment	Comments
Lugwardine	None	1	John Andrewes Joan Andrewes the wife of John Margaret Andrewes the daughter of John	1595-1614 1595-1614 1595-1614	Labourer; John in gaol 1605
Bosbury	None	4	Thomas Farley Elizabeth Farley wife of Thomas George Farley, son of Thomas  Richard Tyler Elizabeth Tyler wife of Richard Thomas Payton	1602-1609 1602-1609 1605-1617 1605-1609  1629-1636	Yeoman (the Farleys and Tylers were linked to Mr William Unett from a neighbouring parish who was said to have entertained them in 1605) Yeoman and brother-in-law to Thomas Farley <sup>70</sup>
Hampton	None	2	Thomas Giles Margaret Giles wife of Thomas Richard Kithermaster	1605-1621 1605-1621 1608-1613	
Pipe and Lyde	None <sup>71</sup>	1	Edward Price The wife of Edward Price	1595-1613 1595-1613	Corvisor/yeoman
Marden	None	1	Joanna Watkins wife of William	1625-1630	
Aston Ingham	None	2	John Davies Ursula Davies wife of John	1608-1613 1608-1613	Yeoman
Sollers Hope	None	1	John Mayo	1629-1633	Yeoman
Letton	None	0	The wife of John ap Thomas	1605-1614	
Brampton Abbots	None	0	William Tomes William Marshe	1609-1629 1621-1629	Paid 20s. in the 1600 lay subsidy (lowest amount)
Leinthall Starkes	None	0	Thomas Goodyear	1625-1640	Yeoman
Kingsland	None	0	Thomas Coleman Grace Coleman wife of Thomas	1615-1638 1618-1635	Blacksmith Former servant to Catholic Sir John Vaughan
Huntington	None	0	John Williams	1629-1635	
Donnington	None	0	Alice Bande	1595-1616	Widow; tenant to Mr Thomas Beale, Yarkhill, himself tenant to Sir Roger and Dame Bridget Bodenham

Several of these people showed a great deal of determination in pursuit of their faith. At Bosbury, for example, in 1577, yeoman Thomas Farley paid nine men to ring an illicit peal of bells for his still-born child.<sup>72</sup> Farley family members continued to be presented for ‘refus(ing) to frequent divine service and to receive communion and neither fear god nor regard his majesty’s laws’ until 1617.<sup>73</sup> Labourer John Andrewes of Lugwardine was in gaol for recusancy in 1605 and his family were deemed ‘wilful and obstinate recusantes’ in 1611.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> TNA STAC 8/53/21, Bartley v. Tyler May 1606.

<sup>71</sup> Roger Bodenham held part of the manor; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 261.

<sup>72</sup> HAS HD4/1/144, Bishop’s Court 1577.

<sup>73</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610.

<sup>74</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611.

Another Lugwardine recusant, Alice Chambers, the wife of blacksmith Richard Chambers, was 'a seducer of one Elinor Skrine from this religion established' in 1616.<sup>75</sup> Four Skrines were amongst Lugwardine's twelve payers of muster money in 1620 – if Elinor was the wife or daughter of one of these, her 'seduction' may have been considered serious: perhaps Alice Chambers also 'seduced' other, lower status, members of her community to Catholicism whose defection was of less significance to the community and not presented to the courts.<sup>76</sup> At Sollers Hope in 1631 yeoman John Mayo showed another kind of determination when he organised the baptism by a seminary priest in his house of a child from another parish.<sup>77</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that non-gentry Catholicism was generally weak in parishes north and east of the River Wye. Most parishes presented no or very few plebeian Catholics, and, on the whole, and with the exception of those listed above, people confined themselves to an occasional protest. It was only a handful of plebeian Catholics who found shelter in gentry households, and wider seigneurial influence was also limited: the patronage of gentry landlords and access to priests seems to have encouraged only a few local people to occasionally attend mass or to become persistent recusants.

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<sup>75</sup> HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617.

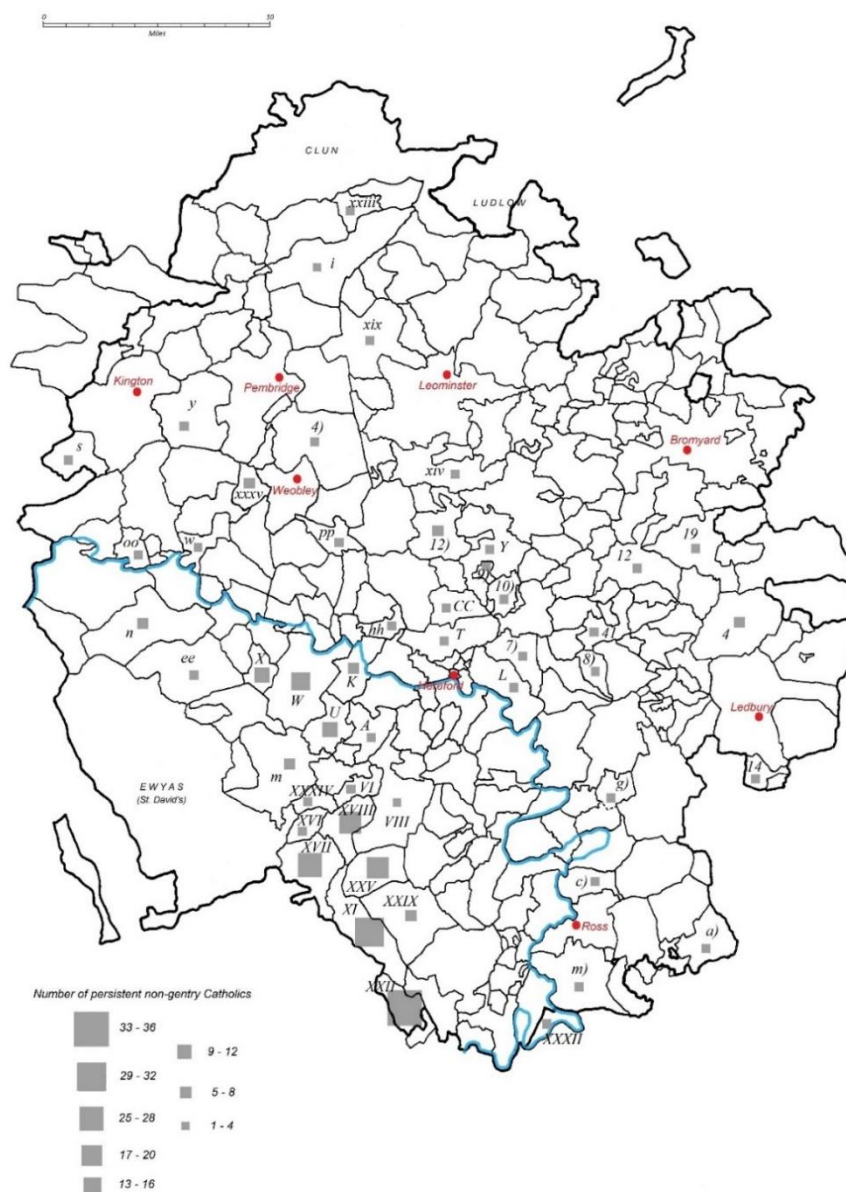
<sup>76</sup> BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70001, f. 199.

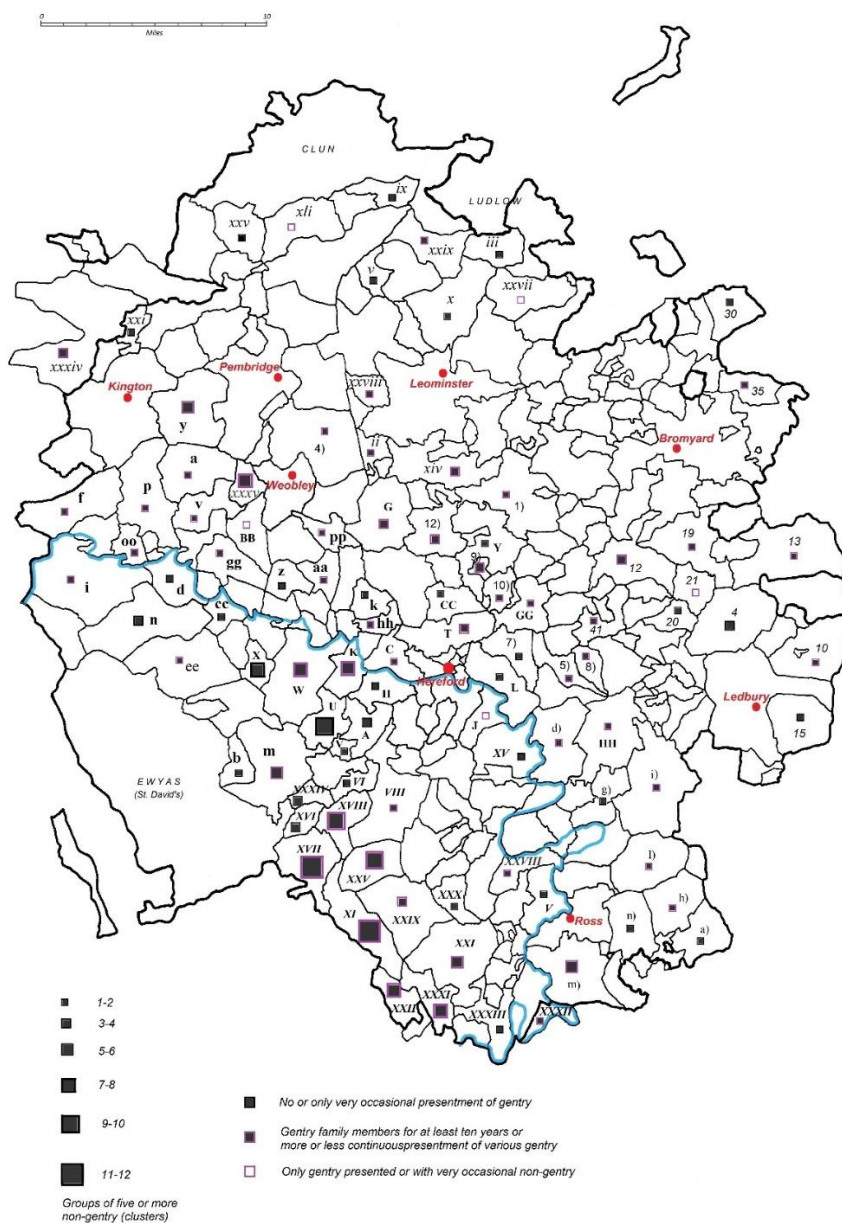
<sup>77</sup> HAS HD4/1/182, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

## The character of plebeian Catholicism in rural parishes south and west of the Wye

A glance at Maps VII and IX, reproduced below, reveals two obvious contrasts between the band of parishes which runs south-west of Hereford and along the Monmouthshire border and those in the rest of the county:

*Map VII Rural parishes of Herefordshire presenting persistent plebeian Catholics between 1580 and 1640*





In the former area, both the number of plebeians who persisted as Catholics and the overall numbers of plebeians presented for Catholic offences were higher than elsewhere.<sup>78</sup> Of course even the highest numbers presented in any one year in the more Catholic parishes was a small

<sup>78</sup> There were sixty-seven people of non-gentry status north and east of the river who persisted as Catholics for more than four years compared to 202 to the south and west.



proportion of the total adult population. In October 1605 at Garway 300 tenants signed a petition to the king in an attempt to prevent William Bouchier, an attorney of the Exchequer, ‘from spoiling the woods in the manor’.<sup>79</sup> The fifteen Catholics presented at Garway that year are a mere five per cent of 300, and if other adults in their households and adults in the community who were not tenants could be counted, the percentage would be smaller still. Nonetheless, the overall number presented for Catholic offences in parishes like Garway, year on year, coupled with the greater number of persistent recusants, raises the possibility of significant mutual support and must have made the experience of being a Catholic there very different from that in parishes north and east of the river.

The point is underlined by considering plebeian Catholic family groups in the two areas of Herefordshire. A family has been defined, minimally, as just two people – a husband and wife, or two siblings, or a widowed mother and adult daughter, for example.<sup>80</sup> Table 3(iii), where the persistent plebeian Catholics in parishes north and east of the Wye with no long-term gentry Catholics are listed, incidentally also shows several family groups – six of the thirteen parishes each have one family, and Bosbury has two, albeit closely related. The families are shown again in table 3(iv) below:<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> TNA SP 46/67, f. 241, Petition of James Meredith and some 300 others, tenants of manor of Garway, co. Hereford, to the King, for order to prevent William Bouchier, attorney of Exchequer, from spoiling woods in the manor, and stay his causeless suits against them 17 Oct 1605.

<sup>80</sup> Small households were the norm in England in the early modern period; K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 2003), pp. 52, 76-77.

<sup>81</sup> Richard Tyler was brother-in-law to Thomas Farley; TNA STAC 8/53/21, Bartley v. Tyler May 1606.

*Table 3(iv) Rural parishes north and east of the Wye with persistent plebeian Catholics but no long-term gentry Catholics, highlighting family groups (in bold)*

Parish	Persistent plebeian Catholics (four years or more)
Lugwardine	<b>John Andrewes</b> <b>Joan Andrewes the wife of John</b> <b>Margaret Andrewes the daughter of John</b>
Bosbury	<b>Thomas Farley</b> <b>Elizabeth Farley wife of Thomas</b> <b>George Farley, son of Thomas</b>  <b>Richard Tyler (brother-in-law to Thomas Farley)</b> <b>Elizabeth Tyler wife of Richard</b> Thomas Payton
Hampton	<b>Thomas Giles</b> <b>Margaret Giles wife of Thomas</b> Richard Kithermaster
Pipe and Lyde	<b>Edward Price</b> <b>The wife of Edward Price</b>
Marden	Joanna Watkins wife of William
Aston Ingham	<b>John Davies</b> <b>Ursula Davies wife of John</b>
Sollers Hope	John Mayo
Letton	The wife of John ap Thomas
Brampton Abbots	William Tomes William Marshe
Leinthall Starkes	Thomas Goodyear
Kingsland	<b>Thomas Coleman</b> <b>Grace Coleman wife of Thomas</b>
Huntington	John Williams
Donnington	Alice Bande

However, taking all persistent plebeian recusants north and east of the river less than half (forty-one per cent) were members of families, and these families, as those in table 3(iii), were isolated in their parishes. South and west of the river, by contrast, fifty-five per cent of persistent recusants were members of family groups, and together with a higher incidence of family groups in any one parish, this meant that a recusant family was likely to have recusant family neighbours. At Orcop, for example, two families were presented in 1586, three families in 1598, six families in 1605, two in 1609 and two in 1625.<sup>82</sup> There were also several large family groups in this area, such as Henry Quarrell, yeoman of Wormebridge, his wife Anna, their son William and their daughter Rosa (recusants from 1586 to 1605); or Hugh David, weaver of Kentchurch, together with his daughters Joan and Blanche (recusants for nearly a

<sup>82</sup> HAS HD4/1/151, Acts of Office 1586; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

quarter of a century, from 1603 to 1627). Hugh's wife Margaret, sons Richard and John, and daughter Sibill were also recusants during this period.<sup>83</sup>

The evidence for Madley also suggests that plebeian Catholics may have been present in quite a high proportion of households in this part of the county, similarly to Egton in the North Yorkshire Moors where Sheils counted about a third of households with Catholic members by 1610.<sup>84</sup> At Madley seventy-eight households paid church-rates in 1605, with at least one Catholic member in fifteen of these – just under a fifth of the total.<sup>85</sup>

Given all of the above, it is likely to have been the case that plebeian Catholics south and west of the Wye came from a wider social base than those north and east of the river, although there is only slight indication of this in the records. Among the persistent Catholics in the north and east, just one was labelled labourer and none were paupers: south and west of the river there were ten labourers and ten paupers. The church-rates records for Madley hint at this too, revealing the twelve men who took part in the Whitsun riots in 1605 as medium or low payers. The top rate at Madley in 1605 was 48d.: one of the rioters paid 20d., one 12d., two 8d., one 6d. and the rest paid 1d. or 2d. Of these, moreover, it was the two higher payers and two of the lowest payers who persisted as recusants.<sup>86</sup>

North and east of the Wye there are few indications of the type of popular Catholic culture identified by Sheils at Egton, but in the swathe of parishes south and west of the river the situation was markedly different. Most of the reports of Catholic rites of passage and masses which specified plebeian participation came from this latter area, as did most of the

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<sup>83</sup> Margaret was a recusant from 1603 to 1616, Richard from 1605 to 1627, John from 1616 to 1625, and Sibill from 1605-1613. HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604 to HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.

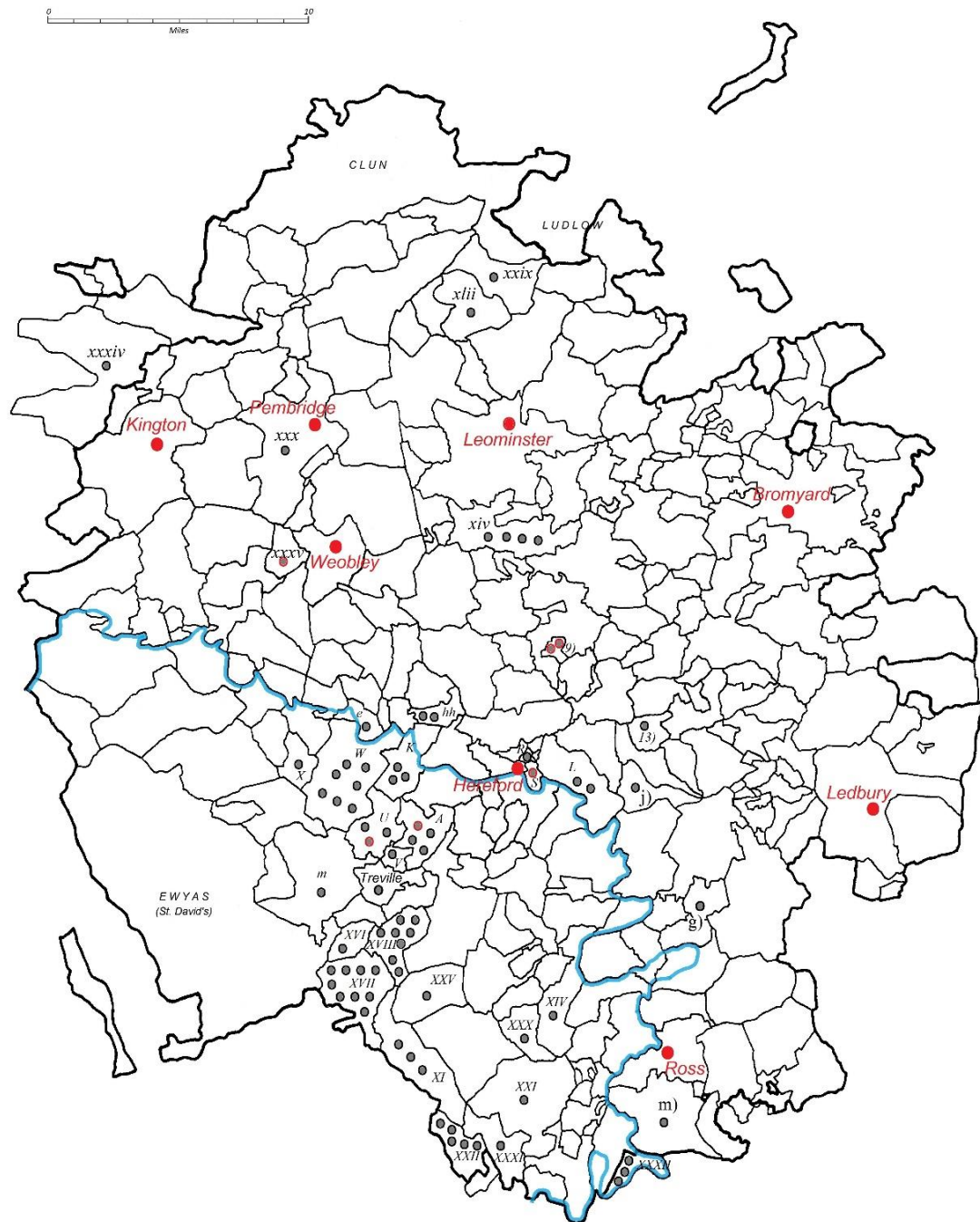
<sup>84</sup> Sheils, 'Getting on and getting along in parish and town', p. 69.

<sup>85</sup> HAS BK 52/34, Madley Parish Book, accounts of 1605.

<sup>86</sup> HAS BK 52/34, Madley Parish Book, accounts of 1605. The higher paying men who persisted as recusants were yeomen Thomas Carwardine, a recusant until 1613 and paying 40d. in the 1605 parish assessments, and William Caunt, who persisted until 1642 and paid 20d. in the 1605 assessments. The lower payers who persisted were Thomas Barrett, a recusant to 1613 and Randolph Best, a recusant to 1625 - both these men paid 2d. in 1605. HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-April 1630; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642. Maltby notes that the weight of opinion among historians is that church rates are good indicators of the relative wealth of parishioners; Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 190-191.

Catholic baptisms, marriages and burials which involved non-gentry. The baptisms, marriages and burials presented to the church courts are shown on map X, below.

*Map X Catholic marriages, baptisms and burials with plebeians present between 1580 and 1640*



**Key :-**

- - One marriage, baptism or burial
- - Non-gentry only
- - non-gentry present at gentry event

Treville - Extra-parochial

## KEY TO MAP X

**Catholic marriages, baptisms and burials with plebeians present between 1580 and 1640** (purple: non-gentry present at gentry event)

### LEOMINSTER DEANERY

xiv Hope-under-Dinmore  
xxx Orelton  
xxxii Pembridge  
xxxv Old Radnor  
xxxvi Sarnesfield  
xliii Yarpole

### WEOBLEY DEANERY

e Bridge Sollers  
m Abbey Dore  
hh Stretton

### HEREFORD DEANERY

A Allensmore  
K Eaton Bishop  
L Hampton Bishop  
R Hereford St Peter's  
S Hereford St Owen's  
U Kingstone (one event)  
V Thruxton  
W Madley  
X Tibberton

### ARCHENFIELD DEANERY

XI Garway  
XVI Kenderchurch  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XIV Hentland  
XXI Llangarren  
XXII Llanrothal  
XXV Orcop  
XXX Tretire and Michaelchurch  
XXXI Welsh Newton  
XXXII Welsh Bicknor

### ROSS DEANERY

g) How Caple with Sollershope  
j) Mordiford  
m) Walford

### WESTON DEANERY

9) Sutton St Michael  
13) Weston Beggard

Seventy per cent (fifty-two out of seventy-four presentments) came from south and west of the Wye, and twenty cases from north or east of the river, with a further two in Hereford city. One of the cases from north and east of the river, the burial in 1603 of Roger Cadwallador senior at Stretton, was attended by parishioners who lived in the southern area, at Madley, Eaton Bishop and Kingstone.<sup>87</sup> In the southern area also there is direct evidence of plebeians attending mass. Large numbers of plebeians - as many as attended the parish church - were said to have been present regularly at masses held at a house called Oldfield in Garway parish in 1594.<sup>88</sup> Many also went to mass at the Darren, another house in Garway: seventy people of non-gentry status were named at a mass there in 1605.<sup>89</sup> A 'great concourse' celebrated the mass for Ales Wellington 'at a church on a Hill', according to the Venetian ambassador.<sup>90</sup> This was presumably Whitfield in Treville parish, where, in ordinary times, mass was said to be held monthly.<sup>91</sup> The records are silent after this, except for the Bishop of Hereford's reference to a mass in the city in 1609, but it is telling that in 1631 at Welsh Newton, it was a labourer, Andrew Barker, who was keeping 'in his house by common report Masse books of poperie'.<sup>92</sup> Also from south and west of the Wye came the only reports of plebeian Catholics practising household devotion (two individual cases, a possible confraternity of the rosary plus evidence of 'houses full of alters, images, books of superstition (and) Reliques of idolatry' over a widespread area along the Monmouthshire border in 1605), and most of the cases of plebeian

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<sup>87</sup> Roger Cadwallador senior was father to Roger Cadwallador the priest; among those present at his funeral were 'BLANK (sic) Browne of Madley, Richard BLANK (sic) of Eaton Bishop and John Griffiths of Kingstone'; also present at his burial was the priest's brother, John Cadwallador of Stretton; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604.

<sup>88</sup> Lambeth Palace MS 3470, Letters and papers mainly on ecclesiastical affairs, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>89</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>90</sup> H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 15 June 1605, Calendar entry number 384, p. 287.

<sup>91</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>92</sup> TNA SP14/49 f. 44, Lord Ralph Eure to Salisbury November 13 1609; TNA SP14/48 f.189, The Bishop of Hereford to Salisbury 27 October 1609; HAS HD4/1/182, Acts of Office, 1631.

Catholics ‘harbouring’ each other in their houses (ten cases, compared to four in the north and east and one in Hereford).<sup>93</sup>

Eight of the ‘harbouring’ cases were presented at the particularly thorough ecclesiastical court of 1605 which followed the Whitsun riots. One involved William Marsh, who had fled following the rescue of his brother Leonard in Hay Wood, but most of the people sheltered were women – Joanna Harrye, for example, in the house of Jacob Waythen of Kentchurch or Joan and Elizabeth Jenkin and Elizabeth William harboured by Phillip William, also of Kentchurch. Arguably, these women were not escapees from the riots. Perhaps, therefore, there were other cases of harbouring which were overlooked at less anxious times.

Plebeian Catholics also seem quite often to have served the Catholic community as schoolteachers and midwives. Since both schoolteachers and midwives were usually presented to the courts because they had not been licensed, it can be hard to know if the lack of licence was related to Catholic leanings, but the majority of those positively identified in the record as Catholics - eleven of twenty schoolteachers and all four plebeian midwives - were reported from parishes south and west of the Wye.<sup>94</sup> In some cases these individuals attended gentry.

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<sup>93</sup> John Wynnall of Allensmore was presented for keeping idolatrous images in his house in 1593; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean’s Court 1592-1595; Joan ap Thomas of Bacton was praying on her beads in 1609; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609, and William Pitt of Kenderchurch was accused in 1602 of maintaining papists in his house who prayed using beads; HAS HD4/1/160, Acts of Office 1602; TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605. North and east of the Wye, Roger Collie of Bromyard harboured ‘some’ recusants in 1602; Elinor Colly widow harboured Roger Colly in 1608 (it is not clear if this was the same Roger Colly as in the previous example, but possible as the parishes are adjacent); Joanna Draper harboured Thomas Draper at Withington in 1628 – he had been absent from church for a month; John Marke senior harboured recusants in his house in 1631 at Walford. South and west of the Wye, eight instances of harbouring recusants were presented to the church court in 1605: at Kentchurch Jacob Waythen harboured Joan Harrye; Phillip William harboured Joan Jenkin, Elizabeth Jenkin, Nicolas William and Elizabeth Williams; Phillip Fillotts harboured the widow Sibill Hopkins and Ann Prosser harboured Katherine Marten; at Eaton Bishop Roger Madox harboured rioter William Marsh; at Breinton Richard Trowe harboured Joanna Love; at Welsh Newton Thomas Hopkins harboured schoolmaster Richard Hopsley and George Sheppard of Dorstone harboured recusant Alice Elliotts. The other instances south and west of the Wye were Phillip Williams of Llanrothal who harboured recusants in 1606 and Samuel Reece of Tibberton who harboured Joanna Love of Breinton in 1613. She was the wife of William Love of Breinton and the same individual who was harboured by Richard Trowe in 1605. At Hereford St Nicholas Hopkins Protherough harboured the recusant Ann Bibb in 1620. HAS HD4/1/160, Acts of Office 1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618-April 1630.

<sup>94</sup> Of the nine schoolteachers north and east of the Wye, four were in gentry houses: William Berrington in the house of Mr Richard Berrington of Much Cowarne in 1609; John Hackett in the house of Mrs Elizabeth Wallwyn



Thus, Ann Gwalter of Kilpeck baptised a child for Whitsun rioter and minor gentleman Rice ap Rice in 1608, and ‘BLANK Phillips’ (a blank space was left in the consistory court record) was schoolmaster to John Scudamore esquire at Kentchurch in 1613.<sup>95</sup> Phillips perhaps only taught gentry children, but the (unnamed) schoolteacher at Mr Kemble’s house in Welsh Newton in 1628 is on record as teaching plebeians - John Davies of Llangarren, a relatively humble man who was an assistant to the churchwardens that year, ‘put his children to school at Mr Kembles a convicted recusant’.<sup>96</sup> Sibill Watkins, another schoolmistress at Welsh Newton, was also teaching plebeian children; in 1619 two men of probable yeoman status were ‘sending their children’ to her.<sup>97</sup> One of the midwives, Margaret Cowles, also, was a persistent non-frequenter of church cited as a midwife who performed a Catholic baptism for a yeoman

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in Orleton in 1609; BLANK in the house of Mr John Vaughan of Huntington in 1614, and Richard Parker in the house of Mr Stratford esquire of Walford in 1621. It is not clear if they taught plebeian children. Also in the north and east were, in 1595, John Gyles of How Caple, who was not frequenting church; and recusant Oliver Evans of Walford; in 1608, John Oldcrofte schoolmaster and recusant in Colwall, and in 1635, Mary Mohier and Mary Harper of Sutton St Nicholas, both recusants and the latter a ‘recusant widow who teacheth scholars and doth not bring them to hear divine service’. South and west of the Wye BLANK Phillips was schoolmaster to John Scudamore esquire of Kentchurch in 1613, and Mr Kemble of Welsh Newton had a school in his house in 1628. The remaining schoolteachers appear to have taught plebeian children and were: recusant John Gardiner of Llanrothal in 1600; recusant Anna Nurse of Llanrothal in 1605 and 1616; Richard Hipson at the house of Thomas Hopkin of Welsh Newton in 1605, Sibill Watkins a recusant at Welsh Newton from 1605 to 1619 and to whom two men sent their children in 1619; Elizabeth Vaughan who taught children without licence at Thruxton; Robert Tetlowe a recusant at Much Dewchurch in 1613; Joan Addams a recusant who ‘doth teach schole’ at St Weonards in 1618; Robert Bromwich of Tibberton in 1623, and recusant Thomas Williams of Llanrothal in 1626. The four midwives were Margaret Cowles of St Devereux, a persistent non-frequenter of church who was cited as a midwife in 1598 at St Devereux and as a midwife who performed a Catholic baptism at Kilpeck in 1604; Ann Gwalter who baptised two children for a recusant couple at Kilpeck in 1608; Margaret Price at Allensmore in 1620 and Anna Father at Welsh Bicknor in 1626, who baptised a plebeian child at the house of Sir John Vaughan in 1626. HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD4/1/180, Actsof Office 1627-1628; HA S HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618-April 1630.

<sup>95</sup> HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>96</sup> HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.

<sup>97</sup> HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619. One of the men, Phillip Dunne, paid 20s. on lands in the 1621 lay subsidy together with Thomas Dunne. Phillip was not presented as a recusant, but Thomas was under suspicion as the landlord of the recusant Elizabeth Thomas. The other man who sent his children to the school of Sibill Watkins was Phillip Thomas whose wife Catherine was presented as a recusant in 1625. TNA E179/118/431 ADD TO REF; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

at Kilpeck in 1604.<sup>98</sup> She had also been presented as a midwife at the neighbouring parish of St Devereux, in 1598.<sup>99</sup>

In addition, most instances of concerted common action among plebeian Catholics were reported from parishes south and west of the Wye. There were the collaborations around the time of the Whitsun riots which have been mentioned in chapter one – the attempts to denigrate Bishop Robert Bennet with libels, the petition to the king presented by priest George Williams, the passing of letters, attendance at both funeral and mass of recusant Ales Wellington, joining ambushes at Hay Wood and Treville and the rapid response to Robert Jones' call to defend the Darren.<sup>100</sup> In the same year too, at Kilpeck, a group of five plebeian Catholics, along with two of minor gentry status, colluded with the vicar in 'rasing Margaret Lewes' name' from the list of excommunicates and 'cunninglie inserting Leonard for it'.<sup>101</sup> No-one called Leonard appears anywhere in the Kilpeck records; perhaps the choice was simply a convenient way of adjusting 'Lewes', with an eye to misleading the authorities.

The Whitsun riots records testify also to ordinary Catholics taking on leadership roles. Middle-level yeoman Thomas Preece of Madley was 'massinge clearke' (and can thus be presumed to have assisted him in some way when mass was celebrated) to the priest George Williams.<sup>102</sup> He was one of those, who, in the early 1600s and encouraged by Williams,

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<sup>98</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; the baptism was reported in TNA CP144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>99</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599.

<sup>100</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-269, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>101</sup> HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. The seven who colluded with the vicar Maurice Ketherer were Henry George, Elizabeth Harry, Catherine the wife of John Howell, James John yeoman, Thomas Williams, William Saice, gentleman, and his wife Mary. All except the vicar were accused of not receiving the communion, and William Saice was accused of recusancy.

<sup>102</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

‘published ... rumors of tolleracion for liberty to ... all recusantes in the Countrey’.<sup>103</sup> William Caunt, of slightly higher social status, similarly spread rumours, knew as well about secret meetings between the priests Cadwallador and Williams and about news and books they exchanged, and was himself a recipient of a copy of ‘Certen lettres’ that had been given to the king by Catholics in 1603.<sup>104</sup> It was yeoman Thomas ap Pricharde of New Grange in Abbey Dore who summoned thirty men to the Cocketts in Treville to intercept the Justices sent to arrest Morgan. Ap Pricharde was ‘the capteyne of them’, and had ‘Conference ... about the busynesse’ with another yeoman, Phillip Giles, a ‘sojourner’ at Allensmore.<sup>105</sup> Yeoman James Cowles of Allensmore was massing clerk to Roger Cadwallador, and along with one of the weaver Marsh brothers of Kingstone (‘one March’), he too had ‘conference’, in this case with both Mr William Morgan and Francis Bishop of Treville, perhaps about riot strategies or about the general anti-Bennet campaign.<sup>106</sup> The ‘conference’ of Cowles and Marsh with Bishop and Morgan shows that plebeian leadership at the riots overlapped with gentry leadership, yet while Francis Bishop, probable kinsman to Dr William Bishop the secular priest and future Bishop of Chalcedon, was of high status, William Morgan was a relatively minor figure: he was probably a distant cousin to Justice of the Peace Sir Charles Morgan of Arkeston in Treville, and still ‘but younge’.<sup>107</sup> Another minor gentleman, Rice ap Rice of Kilpeck, brother-in-law

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<sup>103</sup> TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605; HAS BK 52/34, Madley Parish Book. Preece paid 12d. in 1603, a year when the highest paying plebeian paid 4s. and the lowest paid 1d.

<sup>104</sup> TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605; HAS BK 52/34, Madley Parish Book. William Caunt paid 20d. in 1603, as he did in 1605.

<sup>105</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as are present at the rescue of Leonard Marsh, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 184, f. 211, Actors at the rescue of Leonard Marsh 24 May 1605, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Ap Pricharde was upwardly mobile - by the late 1620s he was dubbed gentleman in the church court records; HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.

<sup>106</sup> TNA CP 191, ff. 56-57, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 104, The examination of William Morgan. For Francis Bishop see chapter one, page 36.

<sup>107</sup> It was the Roman Catholic conspirator, Thomas Morgan, who pleaded that William Morgan was ‘but younge’ when he wrote to James I in August 1605 asking for a pardon for his kinsman, who was a prisoner in the Tower for his part in the Whitsun riots; TNA SP 78/52, f. 189, Thomas Morgan to James I 14 August 1605; A. Plowden, ‘Morgan, Thomas (b.1543 d. in or after 1611)’, *ONDB* (online edn. September 2004). The main argument for

to Sir Charles Morgan, was ‘with’ Thomas ap Pricharde at the Cocketts, but there is nothing to suggest Pricharde played the subordinate role. Indeed, ap Rice came late to the ambush, riding from Hereford to Goose Pool, near Allensmore.<sup>108</sup> In the same way, while the bishop termed William Morgan an ‘actor’ in the rescue of Leonard Marsh in Hay Wood, he credited weaver William Marsh with the leadership.<sup>109</sup> The Bishop of Hereford also observed that Pricharde was ‘man to Sir Roger Bodenham’ but Bodenham does not seem to have been closely involved in the Riots.<sup>110</sup> The impression, in fact, is that the more elevated gentry stayed in the background. Only one member of a wealthy gentry family, the Mynors family, was mentioned by William Morgan as ‘a principall recusant (with whom) he had speache’: this William Mynors was perhaps third son of Roger Mynors of Treago in St Weonard’s.<sup>111</sup> William Morgan’s relation, Sir Charles Morgan, suspected by the bishop to be ‘bent to that (Catholic)

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William Morgan’s being related to Sir Charles Morgan, apart from their both living in Treville, is his connection to Thomas Morgan, gentleman of Blackmoor, a property on the western edge of Kingstone parish, who referred to himself in a tithes case as cousin to Sir Charles Morgan’s father. Thomas was aged 72 in 1611; in the same year he appeared with William Morgan gentleman as joint executor of the will of one William Aylwood, lately of Kingstone. The identity of William Morgan of the Whitsun riots as the same person as William Morgan the executor, however, is an assumption, as is his relationship to Thomas Morgan of Blackmoor; TNA E 134/8Jas1/Hil/9, The Tithes of Kilpeck 1611. The reference to Thomas Morgan and William Morgan as joint executors to Aylwood is in HD4/1/168, Acts of Office, 1611; P. Holmes, ‘Bishop, William (c. 1554–1624)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>108</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; J. A. Bradney (ed.), *Llyfr Baglan, or the Book of Baglan, compiled between the years of 1600 and 1607, by John Williams, transcribed from the original manuscript preserved in the Public Library of Cardiff and edited with explanatory notes* (London, 1910).

<sup>109</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as are present at the rescue of Leonard Marsh, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 184, f. 211, Actors at the rescue of Leonard Marsh 24 May 1605, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>110</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>111</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f.104 The examination of William Morgan by William Waad in the Tower 18 June 1605; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, pp. 140-141. William Mynors gentleman and his wife Catherine were presented as recusants at Garway in 1586 and in 1605 and were principal recusants on the bishop’s list in 1605; William was listed in the 1592 Pipe rolls and the 1594 recusant rolls as holding land in Oldfield in Garway and St Weonards; HAS HD4/1/151, Acts of Office 1586-1587; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; Bowler, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, 1581-1592*, p. 121; Bowler, *Recusant Roll No. 2 (1593-4)*, pp. 43-44; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

side', disappeared to London when the riots began, where he was committed to the Fleet for leaving Herefordshire 'in time of such disorder'.<sup>112</sup>

Several Madley people who were prominent in the riots continued as a solid core of recusants - and thus, presumably, as leading figures in their Catholic community - until the 1630s, and one, William Caunt, until as late as 1642.<sup>113</sup> Other non-gentry men constituted similar recusant cores in their parishes. These included John Davies Studd of Llanrothal who defended the Darren in 1605 and was a recusant until 1613; yeoman William Watkins of Llanrothal, thought by the bishop to be sufficiently dangerous a Catholic that he was summoned to court to swear conformity in 1614, and labourer Andrew Miles. Miles was a recusant at Orcop from 1605 but moved sometime before 1611 with his wife Alice to Garway, where they were recusants until the late 1620s and where they were living when Andrew, as a minstrel, encouraged the youth of Llangarren to dance in the churchyard at service-time.<sup>114</sup>

It was also fairly common for Catholics to take on the role of churchwarden in the parishes south and west of the Wye. Of course, churchwardens were leaders of the parish rather than of the Catholic community but the two roles seem occasionally to have become blurred, particularly in places and at times when non-gentry recusancy was strong and where, perhaps,

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<sup>112</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online. Charles Morgan '(left) the shire the next day after this matter was committed and ... is committed to the Fleet for neglecting his place in time of such disorder'; TNA CP, G. (?) D. to his kinsman, Sir Everard Digby, at Cotehurst 11 June, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury*, M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 518, State Papers online.

<sup>113</sup> In 1625 the list of those 'detected as recusants' at Madley included Randolph and Catherine Best, Henry and Elizabeth Preece, Thomas Marsh and William and Catherine Caunt; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626. William Caunt was an old man of 73 acting as a witness in the Delahay dispute in 1637 and was named as a recusant at Madley in the Puritans' survey for Robert Harley in 1642; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642; HCA 5168, The Delahay dispute, 1637.

<sup>114</sup> TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. For John Davies Studd at Llanrothal in 1613 see HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; for Andrew Miles at Orcop see HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606, and at Garway in 1611 see HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612; he is named as a minstrel at Llangarren in HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628. William Watkins was a principal recusant in the bishop's list of 1605, at mass at the Darren in 1605, and on the recusant roll in 1609. TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605. His certificate of conformity is recorded in HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

there was a lot of sympathy for Catholicism. A case can be made, for example, that Henry Quarrell and William Quarrell of Wormebridge, presented, variously, as recusants or for not receiving the communion between 1586 and 1605, were protecting their co-religionists in 1587 when they were both churchwardens but ‘did not exhibit the communicants book at Easter’.<sup>115</sup> Thomas Lewes, also, was providing a type of Catholic leadership at Kentchurch when he became churchwarden in 1603: he had been presented with his wife in 1598 for absence from church and not receiving the communion, and as churchwarden he would not register the names of ‘those whoe were wedded, buried or baptised’.<sup>116</sup> Lewes was presented to the courts not by parishioners but by the determinedly Protestant vicar John Baguley.<sup>117</sup>

There is evidence, too, that church papism was characteristic of plebeians in parishes south and west of the Wye, and this will be discussed more fully in chapter four, as will Catholics as churchwardens, in the context of Catholics ‘getting along’ with their neighbours.

Thus, compared to other parts of Herefordshire, as well as there being more presentments of plebeians for Catholic offences in the parishes from Tibberton to Welsh Newton, south and west of the Wye, offenders were more likely to have persisted outwardly in their faith, more likely to have had neighbours who were members of Catholic households (or, indeed, neighbours who were part of an entirely Catholic household) and some, perhaps came from a low status social group. The numbers presented, though never a large proportion of the adult population of the parishes, were great enough to suggest that significant mutual support was possible, an observation borne out by specific reports in this area of attendance at masses, of household religion and of participation in Catholic rites of passage. Mutual support among plebeian Catholics is visible in the records of the Whitsun riots, as well as from other pieces of

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<sup>115</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587 to HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>116</sup> HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1602-1603.

<sup>117</sup> Baguley was appointed at Kentchurch on 5 March 1597; TNA E 331/11, Returns of the First Fruits and Tenths, cited in The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835; *clergydatabase.org*.

evidence – a group plotting to alter the recusancy returns at Kilpeck, people ‘harbouring’ fellow Catholics in their houses, and the service of Catholic schoolteachers and midwives. Some non-gentry Catholics assumed leadership roles before and during the Whitsun riots, and some, as churchwardens, took occasional opportunities to lead the Catholic community with small negative actions against the established church, drawing confidence, perhaps, from fellow Catholics and sympathisers.

### **Accounting for the character of plebeian Catholicism south and west of the Wye: the influence of gentry and priests**

Was Catholicism in some of the parishes south and west of the Wye indeed ‘peasant-based’ and only ‘marginally touched by gentle influence’, as in a few parts of the North Riding of Yorkshire?<sup>118</sup> Or was the situation less clear-cut, with gentry influence stronger in this part of Herefordshire than north and east of the river, where long-term gentry recusants did not have a significant impact on the local non-gentry populations, either as landlords or as maintainers of priests?

A few instances of connections between gentry and non-gentry Catholics south and west of the Wye - conferring at the time of the riots - have been mentioned already, and there is a little more evidence, albeit patchy. Joan Love of Breinton, presented to the church courts between 1592 and 1613, had perhaps been the servant of recusant Mrs Anne Willison, who left her ‘two kyne’ in her will.<sup>119</sup> One of the plebeian witnesses to the will of the Catholic John Scudamore esquire of Kentchurch, was briefly before the church courts for not receiving the communion.<sup>120</sup> Amy Scudamore, John’s wife, allegedly ‘procured’ three plebeian Catholics

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<sup>118</sup> Sheils, ‘Household, Age and Gender among Jacobean Yorkshire Recusants’, pp. 137-8.

<sup>119</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean’s Court 1592-1595; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; TNA prob/11/78, The Will of Anne Willison 1591. Anne Willison held land in various parishes, including Breinton.

<sup>120</sup> The witness was John Church; TNA prob/11/177, The Will of John Scudamore, esquire, of Kentchurch 30 March 1616. John Church was presented to the ecclesiastical courts in 1618; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619.

to ‘cut to pieces’ a pew erected by the vicar around 1603.<sup>121</sup> Like Joan Love, these three had a long history of recusancy or church papistry: John William Harry of Garway was a recusant from 1598 to 1611; Henry Farmer, a tailor, of Kentchurch, from 1595 to 1613, and Nicholas Williams, also a Kentchurch tailor, was presented for burying a recusant in 1603, for his own recusancy in 1605 and for ‘consorting’ with recusants in 1613.<sup>122</sup> Amy Scudamore’s servant Richard Pigge, another ‘notorious recusant’, was also said to have helped cut down the pew.<sup>123</sup> At the behest of his mistress, too, Pigge allegedly waylaid three of the vicar’s maids, knocking pails of milk from their heads, and attacked the vicar himself with a forest bill, and it may well have been on Amy Scudamore’s behalf that he railed against the parishioners one Sunday in church for their weakness in countenancing an evangelical vicar in 1603.<sup>124</sup> The recusant John Shepard of Madley, similarly, was close to his landlord and master, the Catholic John Harper esquire of Madley. Harper bequeathed to his ‘trustie servant John Shepparde in Consideracon of his good and faythfull service heretofore done unto mee so many Romes of my mansion house of Chyldestone as he now or late enioyed’ plus the ‘demeasne landes of the said howse at the same rent as he had’.<sup>125</sup>

In 1605, the Bishop of Hereford’s claim that ‘the whole allies and tenants’ of Sir Charles Morgan of Arkestone in Kingstone were ‘infected’ with recusancy, and that Sir Charles himself was one the Justices who were ‘bent to that side’, gives further information about Catholic tenants and their landlord south and west of the Wye.<sup>126</sup> The bishop’s comment was made in the stressful days after the Whitsun riots when he had a political axe to grind, yet most of the manors and townships where Morgan held land – Arkestone in Kingstone, Hungerstone

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<sup>121</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619.

<sup>122</sup> HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596 to HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>123</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619.

<sup>124</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604.

<sup>125</sup> TNA prob11/90, The Will of John Harper esquire 1 July 1597.

<sup>126</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online.



in Allensmore, Mayfield in Clehonger, Kinvernoll in Much Dewchurch, and in Kilpeck parish – were home to numbers of non-gentry Catholics presented to the church courts at this time and some may well have been his tenants.<sup>127</sup> One, Thomas Kerrycke, was his bailiff.<sup>128</sup> However, the majority, including Kerrycke, did not continue as recusants beyond 1605: only three of the twenty-five presented in 1605 from Kingstone persisted, none of the ten from Allensmore, and just eight of the twenty-three from Kilpeck.<sup>129</sup> Some, of course, may have retreated into church papism: this was perhaps the choice of John James and John Powell of Kilpeck, for example, who disappear from the church court records but whose wives continued as recusants.

*Table 3(v) Plebeians presented from Kilpeck in 1605 and persistence*

Non-gentry reported to the church courts in 1605	Those who persisted beyond 1605
Elinor Bevan – recusant	
Henry George – did not receive communion	
Elizabeth Harry – did not receive communion	
<b>Elizabeth James, wife of John – recusant</b>	<b>Elizabeth James, wife of John – to 1616</b>
John James – recusant	
Margaret Kerrycke, wife of Thomas - recusant	
Thomas Kerrycke , yeoman– recusant	
Margery Killcuppe, wife of Richard – recusant	
Margarie Lewes – did not receive communion	
Catherine Morgan, puella (girl) – recusant	
Joan Moythen, wife of Phillip, labourer- recusant	
<b>Margaret Powell, wife of John - recusant</b>	<b>Margaret Powell – to 1611</b>
John Powell – recusant	
Elizabeth Powell – recusant	
Margaret Powell, mother of Richard - recusant	
<b>Margaret Powell, wife of Richard – recusant</b>	<b>Margaret Powell wife of Richard - to 1613</b>
<b>Richard Powell, yeoman– recusant</b>	<b>Richard Powell – to 1625</b>
<b>John Smith, yeoman – recusant</b>	<b>John Smith – beyond 1620</b>
<b>Catherine Smith, widow – recusant</b>	<b>Catherine Smith– to 1616</b>
<b>Phelice Smith – recusant</b>	<b>Phelice Smith – to 1616</b>
<b>John Thomas – recusant</b>	<b>John Thomas – to 1609</b>
Roger Tiler – did not receive communion	
Thomas Williams – did not receive communion	

<sup>127</sup> Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 183; Bowler, Recusant Roll No. 2 (1593-4), p. 65; Somerset Archives, DD/CM 187, Manor Court Roll Kilpeck, 1598 and 1612; Inquisition post-mortem of Sir Walter Pye of the Mynde 1637, cited in J. H. Matthews, *Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford, Hundred of Wormelow* (Hereford, 1912), p. 106. Charles inherited the properties from his father Thomas Morgan in 1597. Thomas Morgan forfeited for recusancy the rents of two-thirds of the manor of Arkestone so was presumably landlord to the whole manor. The recusant roll for 1593-1594 indicates that Hungerstone (in Allensmore), Mayfield (in Clehonger), Kinvernoll (in Much Dewchurch) and Kilpeck were also his manors. The manor court at Kilpeck, however, was under the jurisdiction not of Morgan but of the gentry Pye family who lived at the Mynde which bordered Kilpeck to the east. The castle and manor of Kilpeck were among the properties possessed by Sir Walter Pye of the Mynde at his death. Some of the people listed in table 3(v) may therefore have been Pye tenants. The only plebeians mentioned on the 1598 and 1612 manor court rolls for Kilpeck were John Phelpottes and Richard Grenowe, neither of whom was presented to the church courts for Catholic offences at any time.

<sup>128</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>129</sup> No Catholics were presented from Clehonger in 1605. Arkestone was in the extra-parochial area of Treville and was only very occasionally included in Kingstone church court records.

There is more information in the ‘certificate of all such popish recusants of the county of Hereford as are in the diocese of Hereford’, which Robert Bennet sent to the Council in the Marches in 1616.<sup>130</sup> Sixty-five of the seventy-three tenants named by Bennet from this area were of below gentry status, and the religious allegiance of the landlords of thirty-three of these is known. Twenty-four of the thirty-three tenants had Catholic landlords and, arguably therefore, their protection. However, the landlords did not necessarily live in the same parish as their tenants, and some Catholic tenants had Protestant landlords, including long-term recusants like James Phillips alias Potter of Peterchurch, presented in his parish from 1611 to 1627, and James Prichard, pauper, presented from 1605 to 1625 and the only persistent recusant at Much Dewchurch, all of which underlines the complexity of land ownership in the period and the difficulty of understanding the nature of landlord-tenant influence.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>131</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.

**Table 3(vi) Non-gentry recusants and their Catholic gentry landlords south and west of the Wye, named by the Bishop of Hereford in 1616**

	<b>Non-gentry recusant and status where known</b>	<b>Years of recusancy</b>	<b>Parish of residence (Archenfield deanery)</b>	<b>Catholic landlord</b>	<b>Parish and deanery of residence</b>
Landlord lived in the same parish as the non-gentry recusant	Richard Thomas and Jane his wife	Jane Thomas 1616-1626	Llanrothal	Mr James Griffiths	Llanrothal (Archenfield)
	Margaret Jones and Margaret Patrick, widows and cottagers	Jones 1609-1616	Llanrothal	Mr James Griffiths	Llanrothal (Archenfield)
	Leonard Jenkins and Anne his wife	1616	Welsh Newton	Mr George Kemble	Welsh Newton (Archenfield)
	Hugh ap David, weaver, and his family (seven people in total)	1603-1627	Kentchurch	Mrs Amy Scudamore	Kentchurch (Archenfield)
	William Thomas ap Evan, yeoman	1602-1616	Kentchurch <sup>132</sup>	Mrs Amy Scudamore	Kentchurch (Archenfield)
	John Waithen, yeoman, and Margaret his wife	1616	Kentchurch	Mrs Amy Scudamore	Kentchurch (Archenfield)
	Thomas Morgan, yeoman	1616	Orcop	Mrs Amy Scudamore	Kentchurch (Archenfield)
	Jane Leighton, spinster	1616	Llanrothal	Sir Christopher Seabourne,	Sutton St Michael (Weston deanery)
	Maud Studd, the relict of David Studd	1605-1616	Llanrothal	Sir Christopher Seabourne,	Sutton St Michael (Weston deanery)
	William Williams alias Mason, pauper	1616-1640	Llanrothal	Sir Christopher Seabourne,	Sutton St Michael (Weston deanery)
	Philip Davies, husbandman	1613-1616	Llanrothal	In the house of Henry Williams, tenant to Sir Christopher Seabourne	Sutton St Michael (Weston deanery)
	Elizabeth Llewellyn, spinster	1616-1625	Welsh Newton	Mr George Scudamore	Llangarren (Archenfield)
	Margaret, the wife of Edmond Price, pauper	1616	Dixton (near Monmouth)	Lord Harbart <sup>133</sup>	Raglan, Monmouthshire
	Jane, the wife of John Edwards, yeoman	1616-1619	St Weonards	Sir John Scudamore	Kentchurch (Archenfield)
	Landlord lived outside the parish of the non-gentry recusant				

Although this is a small amount of evidence, it does suggest that relatively few Catholic tenants followed their landlord, and that, when they did, the link was not necessarily strong enough to encourage long-term persistence in outward commitment to the Catholic faith. The pattern in Kilpeck shown in table 3(v) was typical of parishes south and west of the Wye – a higher number of people presented for Catholic offences in any one year appeared only once

<sup>132</sup> Although ap Evan lived in Kentchurch, his tenancy was in Garway; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>133</sup> Lord Harbart of Raglan was Edward, the fourth Earl of Worcester, P. Croft, 'Somerset, Edward, fourth earl of Worcester (c.1550–1628)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

than the number of people who persisted. This is a pattern that seems also to have pertained in the neighbouring county of Monmouthshire. Pugh argued that, because the determined recusant Mr Edward Morgan of Llantarnam was an extensive landowner, the recusancy of the sixty people convicted in the parish in 1606 was probably underpinned by a landlord-tenant relationship.<sup>134</sup> But tracing individual non-gentry recusants through Pugh's lists shows that there was a small number who persisted and a larger number of people who appeared only once. Of the sixty people convicted of recusancy alongside Edward Morgan in 1606, fourteen were convicted again in 1608, seven again in 1613, six in 1615, three in 1620, one in 1621 and one in 1622. The long-term persistent recusant, Giles Jenkin, had also been convicted of recusancy in 1603.<sup>135</sup>

Whatever the influence of gentry masters and landlords, plebeian Catholics south and west of the Wye were certainly supported by gentry Catholics via the hosting of priests in their houses. In 1594 a 'playne countryman' met Anthony Throckmorton 'upon the highe way' and told him of the masses 'held every sonday and hollyday in a hawlle called Ouldfylde yn the paryshe of Garway'. Oldfield was occupied by the recusant gentleman Mr Edward Havard, but responsibility for the masses probably lay with 'one Mr Wyllyam Mynors', who owned the property and who was a committed Catholic.<sup>136</sup> On further enquiry, Throckmorton discovered from local yeoman Lewis Watkins that there was 'as grete repayre of Papystes to the house ... upon the sonday for Masse as ys to the parish church', an unlikely comment if the congregation had consisted solely of gentry.<sup>137</sup> Ten plebeians, possibly part of this congregation, had been presented to the church court from Garway in 1586, a few years prior

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<sup>134</sup> Pugh, 'Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', p. 60. Pugh used the Recusant Rolls to obtain names of recusants in Monmouthshire.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., pp. 81-103.

<sup>136</sup> Lambeth Palace MS 3470, Letters and papers mainly on ecclesiastical affairs, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>137</sup> Lambeth Palace MS 3470, Letters and papers mainly on ecclesiastical affairs, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Anthony Throckmorton was brother to Sir Thomas Throckmorton (1539-1607) of Gloucestershire, and a member of the Council in the Marches; J. Broadway, 'Throckmorton family (c.1500-1682)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

to the report, and a further seven were presented four years later, in 1598.<sup>138</sup> Members of the Mynors family were presented for recusancy between 1595 and 1625, and perhaps continued to host masses: quite high numbers of plebeians certainly continued to be presented at Garway until the 1630s and nineteen were listed in the Puritan survey for Sir Robert Harley in 1642.<sup>139</sup> Garway parishioners also had ready access to masses said at the Darren, the house on the southern edge of the parish where ‘one called Jones (Jesuit Robert Jones) the preist used to say masse’.<sup>140</sup> Definitely taking part in mass at the Darren in 1605 from Garway were John Davis and his wife, Maude Davies, Richard Davies, John Phillips and his wife and son, and William Phillips.<sup>141</sup> Hodgetts suggests that the Darren, as Oldfield, belonged to William Mynors, although in 1605 when the report of masses was made the tenant of the Darren was the recusant William Cowarne.<sup>142</sup> People at Kentchurch, Orcop and St Weonards also lived within three or four miles of Oldfield and the Darren and the numbers of non-gentry Catholics presented to the church courts from these three parishes were similar to those from Garway. A little further south, in Llanrothal, was the Cwm, occupied by Mr William Griffiths in 1595, and perhaps by his widow and children after his death in 1605, the year that Robert Jones was reported to be

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<sup>138</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599.

<sup>139</sup> William Mynors was on the recusancy rolls between 1593 and 1609; Bowler, Recusant Roll No. 2 (1593-4); TNA E 376/8, Recusant Roll 1598-1599; TNA E 376/14, Recusant Roll 1605-1606; TNA E 376/15, Recusant Roll 1606-1607; TNA E 376/18, Recusant Roll 1609-1610. Mynors was presented to the church courts between 1595 and 1605; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596 to HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. The last person in the Mynors family to be presented was Mary Mynors, in 1625; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626. Eight plebeians were presented from Garway in 1603, fifteen in 1605, ten in 1608, fifteen in 1611, fifteen in 1613, twelve in 1619, twenty-one in 1625, seventeen in 1626, six in 1629, four in 1632 and two in 1635; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627; HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632; HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642.

<sup>140</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>141</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Three of these, John Phillips, William Phillips and Richard Davies, were men of some substance: in 1585 John Phillips held customary land worth 8s. and freehold land worth 19d., and William Phillips held free lands worth 12s.; Davies was assessed on lands worth 20s. in the 1600 lay subsidy; TNA E 178/983, Garway Inquisition as to the Manor 27 July 1585; TNA E 179/118/391, Lay Subsidy Wormelow 1600.

<sup>142</sup> For Cowarne’s tenancy, see C. Talbot, (ed.), *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, *Catholic Record Society*, 53 (London, 1961), pp. 138, 143; Hodgetts, *Marches*.

taking mass in the house.<sup>143</sup> By 1623 the Cwm had become the headquarters of the Jesuit Welsh Province and was said to be amply provided with priests.<sup>144</sup> Of course the Cwm was readily accessible to parishioners from Llanrothal but it was also close to Welsh Newton and within four miles of Llangarren, parishes which similarly presented high numbers of non-gentry Catholics.

*Table 3(vii) Clusters of non-gentry Catholics in parishes close to Oldfield, the Darren or the Cwm*

Parish	Number of clusters of at least five non-gentry Catholics presented at the church courts between 1582 and 1638
Garway	12
Kentchurch	11
Llanrothal	8
Orcop	10
St Weonards	3
Welsh Newton	7
Llangarren	6

A comparable pattern, illustrated in the next table, table 3(viii), occurred in the parishes which circle the extra-parochial forest of Treville, where, around 1605, the seminary priest Roger Cadwallador was regularly taking mass at Whitfield, the house of Mr William Morgan.<sup>145</sup> The list of names and parishes of those who took part in the Whitfield mass following the burial of recusant Ales Wellington confirms that Catholics travelled from this wide area.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>143</sup> HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. Mr William Griffiths of the 'Coombe' was a recusant in 1595. In 1605 Jane Griffiths, widow, and her daughter Mary and son Jacob were recusants. Jacob was last presented as a recusant in 1626; HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627. See also page 144 for William Griffiths' connection with Jones and the Jesuits.

<sup>144</sup> H. Thomas, *A great number of popish books*, p. 49. The Jesuit mission in England was elevated from a Vice-Province to a Province in 1623 and the country divided into districts.

<sup>145</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>146</sup> The names of people who took part in the Whitsun riots were reported to the Privy Council by the Bishop of Hereford and by the Earl of Worcester, but not all were located by parish. Parishes of origin of those who attended the mass at Whitfield were Stretton, Madley, Kingstone, Abbey Dore, Allensmore, Wormebridge, St Devereux and Kilpeck. See map IV page 33. The names are in TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-269, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

*Table 3(viii) Clusters of non-gentry Catholics in parishes close to Treville*

Parish	Number of clusters of at least five non-gentry Catholics presented at the church courts between 1582 and c. 1638
Madley	8
Kilpeck	9
Tibberton	8
Kingstone	10
Abbey Dore	5
Allensmore	4
Eaton Bishop	7
Kenderchurch	4
Wormebridge	3
St Devereux	2
Thrupton	1
Clehonger	2
Much Dewchurch	1
Bacton	1

Cadwallador and Jones were not the only priests on record as celebrating mass in the parishes around Whitfield and the Cwm. In 1605 Euan Price testified that the priest George Williams had said mass ‘since Easter laste’ in the house of ‘Mrs Morgan’ who lived in Eaton Bishop, and Williams himself admitted to saying mass ‘twoo sev’ all times’ at Mrs Morgan’s house.<sup>147</sup> In 1626, twenty years later, at Llangarren, John Henly, knight, was presented for the ‘vehement suspicion that he received at sundry times one BLANK Kemble, a preist’ (a blank space was left in the consistory court record), most probably John Kemble alias Holland who grew up in the neighbouring parish of St Weonards and who had arrived in England in June 1625.<sup>148</sup>

There are indications, as well, of visiting priests at Much Dewchurch and Kentchurch, and hints also at Abbey Dore, Welsh Newton and Madley. At Much Dewchurch in 1607 Mr

<sup>147</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

<sup>148</sup> HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627. John Kemble alias Holland was the son of John Kemble and Ann Morgan of Rhyd y Car farm, St Weonards. He was born in 1599 and was probably the John Holland who received minor orders at Seville 18 December 1620 and mentioned at Douai when he was made subdeacon on 24 December 1624. As he was sent to England in June 1625 he must have recently arrived in Herefordshire. The Diary of the English College stated that he was sent to Pembridge Castle, in Welsh Newton. He was in Wales by August 1631; Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests, Early Stuarts*, p. 175; J. W. Leigh, ‘The Kemble family’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ and Field Club* (1900), pp. 14-16, p. 14. Rowlands incorrectly placed John Kemble at Pembridge in Leominster deanery; M. Rowlands, ‘The Catholics in 1676 as Recorded in the Compton Census’, in M. Rowlands (ed.), ‘Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1778,’ *Catholic Record Society* (1999), pp. 78-114, p. 96.

John Phillips and his wife Katherine were accused of ‘entertaining seminaries’, and their neighbour, Lewis Watkins (an informant about Oldfield) suspected ‘the company that did resort thither to be noe well affected subjects’.<sup>149</sup> At Kentchurch, a libel written by the vicar John Baguley connected the Catholic Mrs Amy Scudamore of Kentchurch court with priests. His verse, in rhyming couplets, referred to ‘one M’ris A. S.’ and opened with the words:

‘The world is come now to a merry passe,  
when every foole must teach a preist to singe a masse,  
owr gentlewomen presume and bragg muche of their skill,  
whereas forsooth they have theire motherwit at will’.<sup>150</sup>

Abbey Dore and Welsh Newton both had small chapels. Grange Farm in Abbey Dore was home to the Woodhope family, with members named as recusants between 1605 and 1642, and here Davidson recorded a secret chapel or oratory in the little porch room with the repeated Jesuit symbol IHS in the plasterwork, and ‘belief woven into the fabric of the room’.<sup>151</sup> Pembridge Castle in Welsh Newton, where the recusant Kembles were probably tenants, had a chapel with a medieval undercroft, the chapel itself having been reconstructed around 1600.<sup>152</sup> It still contains a stone altar. Perhaps, too, the traffic at Lulham in Madley included priests and not just intelligence about them. Robert Reve was a regular visitor to the house of his grandmother, Mrs Katherine Bromwich, at Lulham: the note against his name, when he was

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<sup>149</sup> TNA STAC 8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanius Haworth 4 James.

<sup>150</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619.

<sup>151</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642; P. Davidson, ‘Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England’, in R. Corthell et al (eds.), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Indiana, 2007), pp. 19-51, pp. 19, 39. Peter Davidson believed too that the John Woodhope who responded to the interrogation of the English College in Rome in 1629, was a member of this family; and see *Liber Ruber* 696, in Kenny, ‘The “Responsa Scholarum” of the English College’, pp. 407-408.

<sup>152</sup> A. Brooks and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (New Haven, CT, 2012), p. 548. Gentry Kembles were recusants at Welsh Newton between 1604 and 1642 and were probably tenants of Pembridge Castle in the parish. The priest John Kemble was sent to Pembridge Castle in Welsh Newton in 1625, and was later arrested there, in 1679. TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1631-1632; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642; J. W. Leigh, ‘The Kemble family’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ and Field Club* (1900), pp. 14-16, p. 14; Hodgetts, *Marches*.



imprisoned in the Clink in 1586, read that he was ‘an obstinate Recusante who goeth from the house of one papiste to another to carry and convey intelligences and lettres & is for that cause mainteyned by *them*’, that is, priests.<sup>153</sup>

There is, then, definite or probable evidence of priests taking mass in gentry houses in nine parishes lying south and west of the Wye - Garway, Llanrothal, Treville, Eaton Bishop, Llangarren, Much Dewchurch, Kentchurch, Abbey Dore, Welsh Newton and Madley, and in the extra-parochial area Treville. Yet north and east of the Wye, even where there were strong Catholic landlords and access to priests, such as at Wellington, plebeian Catholicism did not display the same vigour as in this area: there must have been other influences at work in the parishes in the south and west.

One probable key to the difference was the particular commitment to working with the poor which was a feature of the ministry both of the seminary Roger Cadwallador and of the priests working at the Jesuit mission started by Robert Jones. Cadwallador’s commitment to ‘the poorer sort’ was attested by those who wrote of him after his death. In an anonymous ‘True relation ... of his suffering’ he was said to have ‘travelled much afoote and liv(ed) comonly among the poorer sorte’, and fellow Herefordshire priest John Stevens said that he ‘performed with greate zeale ... to the Comforte and salvation of many especiallie the poorer sorte amongst whom he cheifly laboured’.<sup>154</sup> This zealousness is reflected in the church court records where baptisms and marriages, and masses were attributed to him.<sup>155</sup> Even at the end

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<sup>153</sup> Author’s italics. TNA Lansdowne MSS LI, reproduced in Wainewright, *The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I*, p. 277; Katherine Bromwich referred in her will to her grandson Robert Reve’s ‘chamber’ in her house; TNA prob11/92, *The Will of Katherine Bromwitche of Lulham, Madley* 14 June 1598.

<sup>154</sup> AAW, Series A, IX 64, p. 205, A True relation of some parte of the manyfold and most constant suffering of Mr Roger Cadwallador als Mr Rogers priest martyred at Lemmster gathered out of his letters before his death and the certificat of such as could best beare wnesse of the same; AAW, Series A, IX 65, p. 211; A Relation by John Stevens.

<sup>155</sup> See, for example, the baptism of the child of Jane Barroll of Kingstone ‘by one Kidwallader a priest’ in 1605, HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; the marriage of John Powell of Kilpeck, ‘married at a mass by Cadwallador’, in 1604 and reported by the Bishop of Hereford and the Earl of Worcester in 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury, 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

of his life, imprisoned in Leominster gaol in 1610 and aware of his impending execution, Cadwallador reputedly wrote to a supporter asking him to distribute £10, the proceeds from the sale of his library, among the ‘manie poor Catholics’ of Herefordshire.<sup>156</sup>

The importance which Jesuit Robert Jones attached to working with the poor is emphasised in a circular letter of 1612 in which he urged Jesuits on the mission to practise ‘single-minded zeal’ for this calling.<sup>157</sup> Jones’ personal track record was good. In 1605 he had been able to summon at least fifty-one non-gentry Catholic men from nine parishes to defend the Darren when the Bishop of Hereford was rumoured to be planning to burn down the house, and when a thirty-mile stretch of border around the Cwm and the Darren, where Jones operated, was searched in late June, the bishop’s men and Justices of the Peace found ‘houses ... left desolate of men and women ... all were fled into Wales ... all that rude and barbarouse people carried headlong into these desperate courses by Priestes’.<sup>158</sup>

The Jesuits’ work among poor families can be presumed to have continued after Jones’ death in 1615.<sup>159</sup> His successor, John Salisbury, obtained the lease of the Cwm ‘for the meeting of friends within the district’ and ‘worked tirelessly’, so that by 1621 there were eleven Jesuit members of the Welsh Mission. Two years later, in January 1623, the Cwm became the territorial College of St Francis Xavier, the headquarters of the newly-established Welsh Province, which included Herefordshire. The foundation of the College ensured not only a steady stream of priests at the Cwm - between eleven and twenty-one at any one time – but also priests out on the mission circuit.<sup>160</sup> As well as significant work with the gentry -

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<sup>156</sup> AAW, Series A, IX, 74, An account of the martyrdom of Roger Cadwallador by Robert Jones 1610, in Latin; transcribed at Belmont Archives, Hereford. I am grateful to Lynne Surtees for directing me to this copy.

<sup>157</sup> T. M. McCoog, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales’, *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 5 (1997), pp. 1-27, p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> TNA SP/14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June. Men came from Llangattock-Vibon-Avel, St Maughan’s, Rockfield, Newcastle and Skenfrith in Monmouthshire, and Garway, Llanrothal, Llangarren and Welsh Newton in Herefordshire; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>159</sup> T. M. McCoog, ‘Robert Jones (c.1564-1615)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>160</sup> H. Thomas, ‘The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier at the Cwm, c.1600-1679’, *Recusant History*, 32 (2014), pp. 173-193, pp. 174, 179.

marginalia in books from the Cwm library, for example, suggest they were ‘facilitators for dialogue, discussion and exploration of the many elements of (the Catholic) faith’ – two small survivals in the Jesuits’ own records recount the continued work with non-gentry families.<sup>161</sup> The annual letter for 1624 described the Jesuits’ ministry to the sick and those in prison, declaring that 120 had been received into the Catholic church, an unlikely number if only gentry were involved, and a report in 1636 explicitly stated that the Jesuits ‘worked among and were friendly with many poor families’.<sup>162</sup> This Jesuit influence on plebeian families is also perhaps reflected in the shift in the number of presentments for Catholic offences between 1605 and 1625. In the lowland parishes south-west of Hereford, where the Whitsun riots occurred, numbers declined or remained about the same between 1605 and 1625, but in Llanrothal, where the Jesuit centre was located, and Garway, the parish where Jones had said mass at the Darren and where Jesuit influence may therefore have continued to be strong, numbers increased.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Thomas, *A great number of popish books*, p. 45; McCoog, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales’, pp. 12, 14.

<sup>162</sup> McCoog, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales’, pp. 12, 14; SJ Archives, Rome, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, VII, pp. 1104, 1121.

<sup>163</sup> In the parishes along the Monnow on the Monmouthshire side of the Herefordshire border near Llanrothal and the Cwm, Frank Pugh counted non-gentry recusants in the recusant rolls between 1581 and 1625: Skenfrith showed an increase from four to nine, but there was a decline at St Maughan’s from eleven to four, and at Llangattock-Vibon-Avel from twelve to four; Pugh, ‘Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I’, p. 64.

*Table 3(ix) Numbers of non-gentry Catholics in 1605 and 1625 presented in the Whitsun riots areas*

Parish and deanery	Total non-gentry Catholics 1605	Total non-gentry Catholics 1625	Comparison 1605 and 1625 <sup>164</sup>
Eaton Bishop <sup>165</sup>	7	8	Similar
Wormebridge	13	0	Decline
Thrupton	7	0	Decline
Kingstone	22	9	Decline
Allensmore	5	3	Similar
Much Dewchurch	5	3	Similar
Abbey Dore	18	8	Decline
Kilpeck	25	14	Decline
Madley	24	20	Similar
Tibberton	10	3	Decline
St Devereux	3	3	Same
St Weonards	3	8	Similar
Llangarren	14	7	Decline
Welsh Newton	24	29	Similar
<b>Garway</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>Rise</b>
<b>Llanrothal</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>Rise</b>

Unfortunately, the ecclesiastical court records are not particularly informative after 1625. There are no records for Hereford deanery from April 1630 and although the Archenfield records continue to November 1638, there were no more reporting years which coincide with national anti-Catholic campaigns. However, a return of recusants from a Puritan survey of 1642, though probably not a complete list, points to the continued relative strength of Catholicism among non-gentry in four of the parishes near the Cwm, that is Garway, St Weonards, Llangarren and Llanrothal, as well as at Orcop, compared to the lowland parishes near Hereford.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> A difference of five or more is counted as a rise or decline; less than five as similar.

<sup>165</sup> The vicar of Eaton Bishop said in 1605 that sixteen recusants had 'reformed themselves' immediately following the Whitsun riots, suggesting higher numbers overall in the parish earlier that year; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

<sup>166</sup> HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642. Only a few of the names (seven in the Archenfield parishes) appear in the church court records for the 1630s.

*Table 3(x) Numbers of non-gentry Catholics in 1642, from a Puritan survey<sup>167</sup>*

Parish	Non-gentry Catholics 1642
Eaton Bishop	0
Wormebridge	3
Thruxton	0
Kingstone	0
Allensmore	0
Much Dewchurch	1
Abbey Dore	0
Kilpeck	7
Madley	5
Tibberton	0
St Devereux	1
Kentchurch	0
Kenderchurch	3
<b>Orcop</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Garway</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Llangarren</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Welsh Newton</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>St Weonards</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Llanrothal</b>	<b>9</b>

**Parishes around the Cwm in bold font**

There is, then, evidence of Catholic gentry influence on plebeian Catholics in parishes south and west of the Wye: their influence may have operated via their role as landlords, though the hosting of priests who took masses in their houses appears to have been more significant. In addition, the special commitment to working with the poor shown by the seminary priest Roger Cadwallador and by the Jesuit Robert Jones and his successors at the Cwm is likely to have been an important factor behind the particular strength of non-gentry Catholicism in the area.

### **Accounting for the strength of plebeian Catholicism south and west of the Wye: the influence of the Somerset family**

If plebeian Catholicism was influenced by the Jesuits, the Jesuits were themselves influenced by their connections to the powerful Somerset family. These connections are usually dated to the early 1600s when Robert Jones was said to have been responsible for receiving Lady

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<sup>167</sup> HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642.

Frances Morgan, daughter to Edward Somerset, into the Catholic church.<sup>168</sup> However, according to the Anglican Bishop Croft in his 'Narrative' of 1679, the Somersets owned the Cwm, the house in Llanrothal where Jones set up the Jesuit mission.<sup>169</sup> By 1596 this property had been leased to the recusant William Griffith of Llanvithyn in Llancarfan, near Barry, who also had a property at Southland, in Uxbridge, where Robert Persons and Edmund Campion met up in October 1580.<sup>170</sup> As early as October 1581, a year after his visit to Herefordshire, Persons informed Claudio Acquaviva, the newly-elected Jesuit General, that during his visit he had reached an agreement with 'a gentleman' who promised to provide accommodation for a few priests.<sup>171</sup> On the basis of the coincidence of dates – Robert Jones' arrival in Britain in 1595 and Griffith's lease of the Cwm by 1596 – Thomas speculated that Griffith was the gentleman who promised the accommodation, and possibly that Somerset himself had requested a man of Jones' calibre for the Welsh mission.<sup>172</sup>

Other evidence of the early connection between the Cwm and the Somerset family, although also indirect, is Thomas' finding that most of the surviving volumes of the Cwm Jesuit library were published between 1595 and 1615 when Robert Jones was active in the area, coupled with the fact that prior to the establishment of a library at the Cwm there was a library

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<sup>168</sup> McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in Wales', p 7. The early 1600s connection is based on a report compiled in 1666 by the Jesuit Humphrey Evans. McCoog notes that this information comes from 'A Relation Concerning Missionary Monies in North and South Wales', compiled by Humphrey Evans SJ in 1666, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV pp. 333-336. The original is in 'Correspondence Relating to St Omers and North Wales 1666-1781', ff. 1-3, in the provincial archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome. See also Thomas, 'The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier at the Cwm', p. 178.

<sup>169</sup> Thomas, 'The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier at the Cwm', p. 180. Croft cited a lease of 1636 granted by Edward Lord Marquis of Worcester to the Jesuit William Morton.

<sup>170</sup> McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in Wales', p. 2; M. Hodgetts, 'Robert Persons in the Welsh Marches, 1580' (to be published). Griffith leased both Upper Cwm and Lower Cwm, two farmhouses about 500 yards apart on the upper slopes of the Monnow valley; Mathias, *Whitsun Riot*, p. 15. M. Graves, 'Campion, Edmund (1540-1581)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>171</sup> McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in Wales', pp. 1-2

<sup>172</sup> Thomas, A great number of popish books, p. 88. Robert Jones was very active in the area for some years before 1605, building up the congregation at the Darren as well as rousing various Herefordshire gentlemen to take up arms against the king, and sending students from Shropshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Monmouthshire to Valladolid and Douai; TNA SP14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605.

of Catholic books at Raglan Castle.<sup>173</sup> Perhaps too the Somerset household was responsible for the priests' holes at the Cwm: it was William Sterrell, agent and secretary to Edward Somerset, who arranged in 1594 for the release from prison of the Jesuit lay-brother and priests' hole builder, Nicholas Owen.<sup>174</sup> The Cwm was already in an excellent location, not only 'at the bottom of a thick wooded and rocky hill', but also on the boundary between the three counties of Herefordshire, Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire, thus facilitating rapid escape from the authorities should the need arise.<sup>175</sup> Priests' holes built by Owen, who was noted by Jesuit Henry Garnet for his particular inventiveness, would have enhanced the safety of the house.<sup>176</sup> One such was found when the Cwm was raided in 1679 by Bishop Croft: it was a study, 'the door thereof hardly to be discovered, being placed behind a bed and plaistered over like the wall adjoining'.<sup>177</sup>

Somerset patronage continued to be crucial for the Cwm. In 1647 prayers were offered for the College's founder. This was the year of the death of Henry Somerset, fifth Earl of Worcester, making him a likely candidate for 'Francis Philopatrum', the principal benefactor of the College whose endowment supported ten priests.<sup>178</sup> Money also reached the College from Lady Frances Morgan, who, apparently on reflection that her father's money was from real estate acquired on the dissolution of the monasteries, had 'dealt with her husband' (William Morgan of Llantarnam) and conceived that the Society should be maintained 'in both parts of

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<sup>173</sup> Thomas, *A great number of popish books*, p. 112.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97. On 23 April 1594 Owen was arrested with John Gerard at a house in London; he was tortured but gave nothing away and was released for 'a good round sum of money'; M. Hodgetts, 'Owen, Nicholas (*d.* 1606)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>175</sup> A Narrative of the discovery of the College of Jesuits at a place called Come, printed by T. N. for Charles Harper, Fleet Street, 1679, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 465. The border location was similar to other locations favoured by the Jesuits; H. Thomas, 'The Society of Jesus in Wales, c. 1600-1679', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 572-588, pp. 574-5.

<sup>176</sup> Hodgetts, 'Owen, Nicholas (*d.* 1606)'.

<sup>177</sup> W. Pilley, 'Notes on the Suppressed College of Jesuits at Coombe, in the Parish of Llanrothal, Herefordshire', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' and Field Club* (1900), pp. 24-27, p. 26, taken from the narrative of the discovery of the College of Jesuits sent to Bishop Croft, 1679.

<sup>178</sup> McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in Wales', p. 11. The endowment consisted of capital funds for investments and rents for various properties. Alms were also received from unnamed donors, the 'associates' prayed for with Francis Philopatrum.

Wales' (that is, the northern Residence of St Winifrides in North Wales as well as St Xavier's in the south).<sup>179</sup>

The strength of plebeian Catholicism in this area may have also been linked to the considerable local influence of the Somersets, independent of their promotion of the Jesuits. The lordship of Monmouth had been granted in 1509 to Charles Somerset, first Earl of Worcester, and it was his grandson, William, the third earl, who made his home twelve miles from the Herefordshire border at Raglan Castle.<sup>180</sup> The fourth earl, Edward Somerset, became lord lieutenant of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan in 1602.<sup>181</sup> His connections to – and thus support for – Robert Jones via the Cwm and Lady Frances Morgan are unlikely to have escaped the notice of parishioners on the Herefordshire/Monmouthshire border and would doubtless have encouraged them. Furthermore, when Somerset was sent to the area after the Whitsun riots in 1605, although responsible for the examination of the rioters, he played down events. In a letter to Cecil he minimised any danger posed by the riots, saying he 'feared that (his description of events) had been over tedious', and that those involved were 'but silly creatures'.<sup>182</sup> The Venetian ambassador confirmed that Worcester had made this view public, reporting in London that the earl 'found the movement far inferior in importance to what had been represented' and had merely imprisoned 'a few fellows of the baser sort ... more to show that he had done something than because they deserved punishment'.<sup>183</sup> In Herefordshire, the bishop

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<sup>179</sup> Thomas, *A great number of popish books*, p. 90; Thomas, 'The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier at the Cwm, c.1600-1679', p. 177.

<sup>180</sup> J. Hughes, 'Somerset, Charles, first earl of Worcester (c.1460–1526)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

<sup>181</sup> Croft, 'Somerset, Edward, fourth earl of Worcester (c.1550–1628)'.

<sup>182</sup> TNA CP 144/184-188, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 613, State Papers online.

<sup>183</sup> H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 10 August 1605, Calendar entry number 408, p. 266; Questier, 'Stuart Dawn'.



complained that the priest George Williams ‘walked abroad triumphantly’, bolstered, perhaps, by Somerset’s tacit support.<sup>184</sup>

Moreover, the habit of following Marcher lords had not completely died away in the area and may well have been expressed as loyalty to the Earl of Worcester in the parishes along the Monmouthshire border.<sup>185</sup> The tradition had been to the fore in the 1580s and 1590s when a feud was fought out in Leominster and Hereford between two leading gentry families, the Coningsbys and the Crofts, marked by a series of pitched battles between the friends and servants of Humphrey Coningsby and of James Croft, all kitted out in identifying livery.<sup>186</sup> And at Usk, in Monmouthshire, in 1604, the Protestant Sir William Morgan of Machen was able to ‘assemble and gather together that multitude of ryotous and quarrelling people that doe depend upon him’ against his long-term foes, the Catholic Sir Edward Morgan and his son Sir William, Edward Somerset’s son-in-law, both of Llantarnam. They had their own ‘great number of persons’ who ‘did ... troop and walk up and down the town in an extraordinary sort’ causing trouble of different kinds.<sup>187</sup>

### **Accounting for the strength of plebeian Catholicism south and west of the Wye: the Welsh legacy of Archenfield**

Underlying these several influences on the strength of plebeian Catholicism south and west of the Wye - Catholic landlords, priests (particularly Cadwallador and the Jesuits with their commitment to the poor) and the Somerset family – was the Welsh legacy of Archenfield.

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<sup>184</sup> TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online.

<sup>185</sup> Pugh, ‘Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I’, p. 64.

<sup>186</sup> Tighe, ‘Courtiers and Politics in Elizabethan Herefordshire’, pp. 267-274; P. Williams, ‘The Welsh Borderland under Elizabeth I’, *Welsh History Review* (1960), pp. 19-36, pp. 24-25.

<sup>187</sup> TNA STAC 8/207/30, Morgan v. Morgan 1605. Feudal loyalty was known beyond the Welsh Marches. Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury, for example, in 1593, ‘asserted himself in the old bastard feudal manner’, sending 400 men to destroy the Stanhope fisheries at Shelford (Nottinghamshire), and 120 men to arrest Sir John Holles; M. Hicks, ‘Talbot, Gilbert, seventh earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616)’, *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

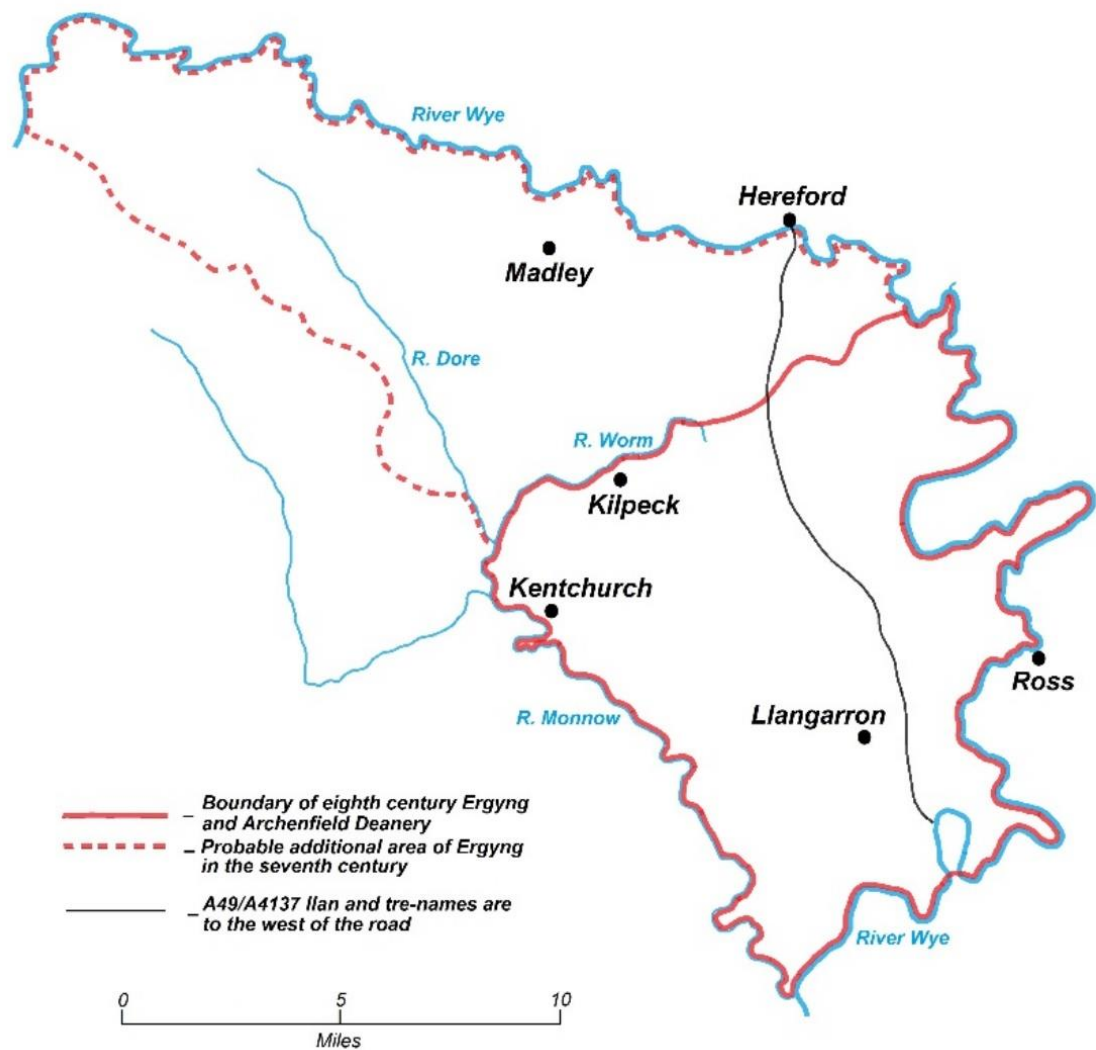
Robert Persons recognised this when he told Acquaviva in 1581, following his visit to Herefordshire, that ‘the Welsh were not ... hostile to the old religion’. The point was reiterated in 1615, following the death of Robert Jones and his years of experience in the area: in the annual letter to Jesuit headquarters from the Cwm, Jones was said to have spent his life ‘among a people which still clings to the old religion’.<sup>188</sup> Archenfield’s ‘Welshness’ had its roots in the British kingdom of Ergyng, believed to have flourished between c.450 and c.650 AD as a survival of the Romano-British iron-working area of Ariconium.<sup>189</sup> In the sixth-century British-controlled Ergyng probably covered the whole area south and west of the Wye, but by the eighth-century the area was held by the Mercians and was smaller, corresponding roughly to the area of modern-day Archenfield deanery. Although parts of the area had been settled by the English, Welsh lords still held the majority of the manors, and the Mercians allowed some Welsh laws and customs in return for commitments to keep the peace and to lead the defence against any attacks from Welsh tribes who lived further west.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 408.

<sup>189</sup> Ray, *The Archaeology of Herefordshire*, p. 207. The archaeology for the period in this area ‘remains stubbornly elusive’ - deductions are based largely on place-name evidence and the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff which gave information both about early kings of Ergyng and land grants.

<sup>190</sup> C. P. Lewis, ‘Welsh Territories and Welsh Identities in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in N. Higham (ed.), *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 130-143, pp. 132-133. Dues of sheep and honey were paid according to Welsh custom, there were separate laws covering theft and murder and the men of Archenfield held a privileged place of honour in the vanguard of English armies going into Wales and in the rearguard when returning.



<sup>191</sup> The name Ergyng is a development from the Romano-British Ariconium, and Archenfield is an anglicisation of Ergyng with the addition of Old English *feld*; B. Coplestone-Crow, 'Herefordshire Place-Names', *BAR British Series*, 214 (1989), p. 2.

Elements of Welsh culture persisted through the centuries, a continuity that Phythian-Adams explained by the concept of *pays*, ‘a collectivity of people living within some shared structure’ who were also involved in ‘a ceaseless process of social inter-relationships’.<sup>192</sup> Membership of the society might change but ‘comparatively dense networks of blood relationships’ could still prevail. Phythian-Adams’ work drew on the substantial stock of surnames which can be linked by location from the thirteenth- to the nineteenth-centuries and which represented lines of land-owning yeomen families who, over the years, married locally and stayed close to their original homes, forming the core of the *pays* in rural areas. Most lower status plebeians were also relatively restricted in their mobility, concentrating in the early modern period, for example, around local hiring fairs and not usually moving outside of familiar territory.<sup>193</sup> Similar mechanisms may have given cohesion to *pays* before the thirteenth-century. Phythian-Adams pointed to evidence from Anglo-Saxon times which suggests that kindred who were usually resident on the estate of the same thegn were involved in betrothal agreements.<sup>194</sup> Stoye’s example of an ancient ethnic frontier between English and Cornish on either side of the River Ottery in Devon likewise suggests continuity of a *pays* from Saxon times through to the 1640s: it was an ancient division, Stoye argued, which influenced Civil War allegiance.<sup>195</sup>

The processes behind the *pays* resulted in ‘traditional modes of local self-identification ... and some sense of local exclusiveness’ which would most obviously be expressed as common customs and dialect.<sup>196</sup> One common custom likely to have been typical of the western parishes of Archenfield is gavelkind tenure, or partible inheritance, which could still

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<sup>192</sup> C. Phythian-Adams, ‘Re-thinking English Local History’, *Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, Fourth Series* (Leicester University Press, 1987), p. 27.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-35.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34; Archenfield’s Welsh customs were chronicled in the Domesday Survey of 1086; F. Thorn and C. Thorn (eds.), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire* (Chichester, 1983), p. 179b.

<sup>195</sup> M. Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), p. 150.

<sup>196</sup> Phythian-Adams, ‘Re-thinking English Local History’, p. 27.

be found in the area in the late nineteenth-century.<sup>197</sup> In the late Elizabethan period, there is evidence of gavelkind at both Orcop and St Weonards (located between Llangarron and Kilpeck on Map XI). At Orcop an enquiry into land tenure customs in 1584 produced witnesses who maintained that ancient demesne land had to be divided among the brethren of a family in accordance with the custom of gavelkind, and at St Weonards John Williams, weaver, granted rights in gavelkind in 1599 to the two brothers who were co-heirs of a certain Henry Newton.<sup>198</sup> Thirsk also suspected gavelkind survival in the Golden Valley (the Dore Valley), and it is possible that the settlement pattern of scattered farms in the western parishes of Archenfield are linked to the custom.<sup>199</sup> Ray has commented, rather vaguely, that there was a fully dispersed pattern of settlement (that is, isolated cottages and farmsteads and an absence of villages) in the most westerly and southern districts of Herefordshire, but he noted too that another common origin for isolated farms in the county was the shrinking of many villages and hamlets, which by the mid-1530s had become shadows of their medieval selves, reduced to a single farm.<sup>200</sup> It is hard to distinguish between this outcome and the larger, isolated farms that resulted in areas where the geographical limitations of partible inheritance had been reached.<sup>201</sup>

The Welsh language also remained a significant cultural link amongst the inhabitants of Archenfield. In the Middle Ages Welsh was ‘the main language of at least the peasantry’ in areas of Herefordshire, and there is anecdotal evidence which suggests that Welsh continued to be important in subsequent centuries.<sup>202</sup> Thus, Bannister noted that *every* holder of land in Kentchurch in 1300 was Welsh, and in the 1397 Visitation returns for the Hereford diocese it was reported from Garway and Wormebridge that *‘plures parochiani ... nesciunt linguam*

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<sup>197</sup> W. Page (ed.), *Victoria County History, Herefordshire I* (London, 1908), p. 410.

<sup>198</sup> D. Coleman, *Orcop* (Worcester, 1992), pp. 38, 81.

<sup>199</sup> Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 109.

<sup>200</sup> Ray, *The Archaeology of Herefordshire*, p. 266, footnote 2.

<sup>201</sup> G. R. J. Jones, ‘The Pattern of Settlement on the Welsh Border’, *The Agricultural History Review*, 8 (1960), pp. 66-81, pp. 68-69.

<sup>202</sup> R. R. Davies, ‘Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 110-1400: IV Language and Historical Mythology’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 7 (1997), pp. 1-24, p. 5.

*Anglicam*’ (many parishioners do not know the English language) and that their vicar ‘*nescit linguam Wallicanam*’ (does not know the Welsh language).<sup>203</sup> Welsh was clearly still important in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries. In 1563 the Bishop of Hereford was enjoined to see that a Welsh Bible as well as the English was provided in churches where Welsh was spoken.<sup>204</sup> Although there is no direct evidence that Welsh Bibles were put into churches in Archenfield, in 1892 there was apparently a ‘well-preserved black-letter Welsh Bible, inscribed on the title page of the New Testament ‘*Testament Newydd, ein Harglwudd Jesu Grist anno 1588*’ (New Testament, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1588) in Rowstone church, just two miles from Kentchurch.<sup>205</sup> At St Weonards a church window dedicated to Richard Mynors, who died in 1593, bore a Welsh inscription which began: ‘*Go Beth e ony bei, Callon a dorrie*’ (if it were not for hope, the heart would break).<sup>206</sup> In 1605 John Phillips of Broad Oak in Garway, present at mass at the Darren, testified to hearing ‘two severall sermons made by Jones the priest, the one in Welshe, the other in English’, which suggests that numbers of people present were not fluent in English.<sup>207</sup> It needs to be remembered, of course, that border people are commonly bilingual and there is certainly no indication of a language problem in the church court records. Richards believed there was bilingualism in the Welsh borders during the Middle Ages, noting that there was no ‘mangling’ of Welsh names by Anglo-Norman scribes in this area, although mangling did occur deeper into Wales.<sup>208</sup> Churchwardens appear to have presented matters to the courts without difficulty. Most entries

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<sup>203</sup> Author’s italics. A. T. Bannister, ‘Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397’, *The English Historical Review*, 44 (1929), pp. 279-289, p. 289.

<sup>204</sup> Moir, *Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Herefordshire*, p. 3.

<sup>205</sup> I am grateful to John Hughes for translation from the Welsh. H. J. Tummins, *Nooks and Corners of Herefordshire* (London, 1892), p. 108. Rowstone was in county of Herefordshire but was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishop of St David’s.

<sup>206</sup> Moir, *Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Herefordshire*, p. 3. The window was presumably in the Mynors chapel – the glass there was replaced in 1874; Brooks and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, p. 590.

<sup>207</sup> TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>208</sup> M. Richards, ‘The population of the Welsh Border’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1970), pp. 77-100, p. 90.

in the Acts books are in formulaic Latin, recorded by the registrar and often echoing the bishop's visitation articles, but when verbatim quotations in English occur, the records from Archenfield parishes appear as authentic as those from other Herefordshire deaneries.<sup>209</sup> Yet, as Penry Williams observed, many people spoke Welsh in the city of Hereford as late as 1642, and Percy Enderbie, writing from Raglan in 1661, indicated the widespread use of Welsh 'even beyond the boundaries of Monmouthshire', that is, into Herefordshire.<sup>210</sup> Welsh surnames also abounded in Archenfield in the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries. Recurrent surnames among plebeians who persisted in outward adherence to Catholicism, for example, included ap Evan, Bevan, Beynam, Davies, Gwaithe, Gwillim, Maddockes, Meredith, Owen, Parry, Phillips, Philpottes, Price, Prichard, Powell, Waithen and Watkins.<sup>211</sup>

A case can also be made for a degree of Welshness beyond Archenfield in the Whitsun riot parishes. It was noted above that the whole area south and west of the Wye was part of Ergyng prior to the Saxon invasions. A twentieth-century study found that the blood groups of those with Welsh surnames who lived west of Offa's Dyke in Herefordshire in 1965 – therefore including both Archenfield and the area to the north where Cadwallador had operated – closely resembled the blood groups of their Welsh neighbours.<sup>212</sup> Significant then, perhaps, was the high proportion of Welsh names among persistent non-gentry recusants in some of the

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<sup>209</sup> In Llangarren in 1605, for example, Phillip Griffiths behaved badly to one of the churchwardens and 'bid him be hanged with yt (his lewn) and called him knave and skurvie skribb'; and in Llanrothal in 1619 the churchwardens reported that the vicar 'will be so drunk that he is fayne to be carried home'; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619.

<sup>210</sup> Williams, 'The Welsh Borderland under Elizabeth I', p. 32; P. Enderbie, *Cambria Triumphans*, cited in G. W. R. Lovering, 'Some glimpses of seventeenth-century Monmouthshire', *Gwent Local History, the Journal of Gwent*, 73 (1992), pp. 9-34, p. 13.

<sup>211</sup> B. Cottle, *The Penguin Dictionary of Surnames* (London, 1978).

<sup>212</sup> M. Watkin, 'ABO Blood Groups, Human History and Language in Herefordshire with Special Reference to the Low B Frequency in Europe', *Heredity* (1965), pp. 83-95, p. 93. There were not many Welsh surnames among persistent non-gentry recusants north and east of the Wye: there were none in the Frome deanery, none in the Leominster deanery, one in the Ross deanery, three in the Weston deanery, and three in the Hereford deanery. The only 'concentration' was eight names of people presented for Catholic offences and living in three parishes immediately north of the Wye (Stretton, Wormesley and Letton) and two parishes near the Welsh border (Huntingdon and Lyonhalls), all in the Weobley deanery.

parishes in the Hereford deanery and in the area of Weobley deanery which lie south and west of the Wye.

**Table 3(xi) The occurrence of Welsh surnames among persistent non-gentry recusants in parishes south and west of the Wye**

*Parishes with a majority of Welsh surnames are highlighted*

Parish	Deanery	Welsh surnames/total number of surnames of persistent recusants
Abbey Dore	Weobley	5/6
Dorstone	Weobley	4/5
Allensmore	Hereford	0/5
Eaton Bishop	Hereford	5/8
Kingstone	Hereford	8/12
Madley	Hereford	2/16
Tibberton	Hereford	5/12
Garway	Archenfield	23/30
Kenderchurch	Archenfield	4/7
Kentchurch	Archenfield	23/27
Kilpeck	Archenfield	12/20
Llanrothal	Archenfield	24/29
Much Dewchurch	Archenfield	1/1
Orcop	Archenfield	15/18
St Devereux	Archenfield	0/1
St Weonards	Archenfield	2/8
Welsh Newton	Archenfield	4/6
Wormebridge	Archenfield	0/4

There must have been many people in the parishes listed above who had more in common with the Welsh of neighbouring Monmouthshire than with the English of Herefordshire. Monmouthshire had its own concentration of recusants, with the highest return in a survey of 1603 where there was one recusant for every fifty Church of England communicants. Although all the larger groups in the county included gentry, the returns were dominated by yeomen, labourers and tradesmen. The Monmouthshire parishes bordering Archenfield returned a total of 328 recusants between 1581 and 1625.<sup>213</sup> There were also connections of land, kinship and common interest across the border. Sir John Scudamore of Kentchurch owned land at Llangua near Grosmont; Sir William Vaughan of Llanrothal had land in St Maughan's and his mother, Maud Cox, came from Skenfrith, all three of which were

<sup>213</sup> Pugh, 'Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', pp. 60-61.



Monmouthshire parishes within striking distance of the River Monnow which formed the county boundary.<sup>214</sup> William David Studd, yeoman, of Llangattock-Vipon-Avell, another Monmouthshire parish, and his wife Maud who raised the cry when the Darren was threatened, along with nineteen other men from Llangattock, nine from St Maughan's, four from Rockfield, two from Skenfrith and one from Dixton, near Monmouth, were all present at the defence of the Darren in Garway.<sup>215</sup> Philip Giles claimed 'that hee would bring a company out of Monmouthshire well weaponed' to aid the Whitsun rioters, and, although no aid materialised at the time, Archenfield and Monmouthshire men are on record for collaborating in 1620 when Epiphanius Haworth, farmer of the tithes of Kilpeck, named a group of 'notorious and convicted recusants' from both the Archenfield parishes Kilpeck, Garway, Didley and Kentchurch, and from the Monmouthshire parishes Grosmont and Llangattock, as those who carried away 'the tenthes of corne and graine sett out and severed from the nyne partes from and out of the fieldes of Kilpeck' which were due to him.<sup>216</sup>

The correlation between Welshness and recusancy is further underlined by the contrast in presentments to the church courts from eastern and western parishes of Archenfield. Ray identified a divide through the deanery, on either side of a line parallel to, and slightly west of, the current route of the A49/A4137 west of Ross-on-Wye, shown on map XI. He interpreted the divide as a transition area from predominantly Welsh to predominantly English settlement,

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<sup>214</sup> TNA prob/11/127, The Will of John Scudamore of Kentchurch 1616; TNA prob/11/73, The Will of William Vaughan of Llanrothal 1588.

<sup>215</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Thirteen of the nineteen were on the Recusant Rolls in 1606; Pugh, 'Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', pp 83-84.

<sup>216</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA STAC 8/174/20, Haworth v. Phillips 1620. Haworth's opponents were 'William Price of Kilpeck gentleman, Rice ap Rice of the same gentleman and Mary his wife, Richard Parry alias Tyler of Kilpeck, William Meredith of Garrowaie in Monmouth marques [sic] (Garway?), Thomas John of the same, Morgan Griffiths, Morgan John Harry of the same, Thomas Harry of Grismond (Grosmont) in Monmouth, and Rees Quarrell of Didley in Monmouth, Thomas Haye of Grismond labourer, John Vayne of the same, glover, Harbart Evans of Llangattock in Monmouth, and James Baskerville, Thomas Baskerville, gentleman and John Morgan of Kentchurch in the county of Hereford.' Interestingly, Englishman Haworth referred to the Monmouthshire men as from 'remote places and forraigne partes'.

with the *Llan*-names for church-based settlements and settlement names beginning with the Welsh *Tre*- (homestead) lying to the west of the line.<sup>217</sup> By the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries it was largely the Welsh parishes in the western half of Archenfield that had high incidences of non-gentry recusancy, whereas most parishes lying in the eastern part of the area presented very few Catholic offenders.

*Table 3(xii) Catholic presentments in the eastern parishes of Archenfield*

Parish	Total number of entries for Catholic offences 1582-1638	Gentry	Non-gentry
Aconbury	5	no	1 in 1602; 1 in 1608; 1 in 1620; 1 in 1633; 1 in 1635
Ballingham	1	no	1 in 1613
Much Birch	6	no	1 in 1603; 2 in 1605; 2 in 1613; 1 in 1637
Little Birch	6	no	1 in 1603; 2 in 1605; 2 in 1609; 1 in 1614
Bridstow	21	Mrs Mary Ashe 1613, 1616 and 1626	4 in 1609; 6 in 1613; 2 in 1616; 3 in 1626; 1 in 1629; 5 in 1635
Little Dewchurch	3	no	1 in 1603; 1 in 1605; 1 in 1626
Foy	5	John Vaughan 1629	1 in 1608; 1 in 1613; 1 in 1620; 2 in 1629
Goodrich	7	Moore family in 1609 and 1613	1 in 1605; 2 in 1609; 2 in 1613; 2 in 1633
Hentland	6	John and Elizabeth Marke 1626-7	4 in 1611; 2 in 1626
Holm Lacy	12	no	3 in 1603; 6 in 1613; 1 in 1625; 2 in 1637
Llandinabo	0	-	-
Marstow	0	-	-
Pencoyd	4	no	2 in 1582; 2 in 1608
Peterstow	6	no	2 in 1582; 3 in 1600; 1 in 1638
Sellack and three attached chapels	27	Roger Minors and wife Jane 1586 Gwatkin family between 1586 and 1609	13 in 1582; 1 in 1598; 1 in 1600; 2 in 1605; 3 in 1608; 2 in 1613; 2 in 1616; 2 in 1631

But what disposed the Welsh to Catholicism? There were clearly rival Protestant influences at work in post-Reformation Wales. Williams noted that the Welsh language was harnessed to promote Protestantism, more particularly from the 1580s onwards.<sup>218</sup> The Privy Council had directed Bishop John Scory to place Salesbury's Welsh translation of the New Testament in his churches earlier in Elizabeth's reign, and by 1588 Morgan's Welsh Bible had appeared (the

<sup>217</sup> Ray, *The Archaeology of Herefordshire*, p. 219.

<sup>218</sup> Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 315.

volume at Rowstone was in place the same year), and this was followed by a new edition of the Welsh Prayer Book (the first edition was published in 1567), and a Welsh Book of Homilies in 1606.<sup>219</sup> The Calvinist Robert Holland translated into Welsh both William Perkins' catechism 'The Foundation of the Christian religion' (printed in 1590) and his 'An exposition of the Lord's prayer' (printed in 1592).<sup>220</sup> *Cwndidau* (sermons in song, mostly composed by lay poets), such as Thomas Llewellyn's poem 'The Tavern and the Church' which celebrated the replacement of deceitful practices associated with the mass and medieval loose-living in taverns by the purer ideals of reformed religion, proved highly popular with the majority of the population.<sup>221</sup> Clergy who could read Welsh religious literature were appointed to churches in the area: twenty-one per cent of the men ordained in the Hereford diocese in this period were likely to have spoken Welsh.<sup>222</sup> The rectors, vicars and curates with Welsh surnames in Eaton Bishop, Madley and Kentchurch in the 1570s and 1580s, in Garway, Llanrothal and Wormebridge by 1601, and in Much Dewchurch from 1610, may have been among these Welsh-speakers.<sup>223</sup> Walter Williams, for example, vicar of Llanrothal to 1601 and then of Much Dewchurch to 1619, may have come from Brecon, like his patron, and spoken Welsh.<sup>224</sup> Williams also claimed to be a preacher, indeed to be a 'zelous and painfull preacher of God's

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<sup>219</sup> G. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales, c.1415-1642* (Cardiff, 1993), p. 323. Bishop Nicholas Robinson of Bangor in North Wales testified in 1576 to his pleasure that all things were done in Welsh, which view, together with Morgan's tribute to Salesbury on the publication of Morgan's 1588 Bible, Glanmor Williams took to mean that the distribution of Welsh Bibles in churches had begun.

<sup>220</sup> S. Clarke and P. T. J. Morgan, 'Religion and Magic in Elizabethan Wales: Robert Holland's Dialogue on Witchcraft', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), pp. 31-47, pp. 31-32.

<sup>221</sup> M. Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), pp. 240-242.

<sup>222</sup> G. M. Hayes, 'Ordination Ritual and Practice in the Welsh-English Frontier, circa 1540 – 1640', *The Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), pp. 713-727, pp. 722, 724.

<sup>223</sup> Griffith Parry was vicar of Wormebridge in 1575, TNA prob/11/57, The Will of John Parry of Wormebridge 4 April 1575. Richard Jones was curate in Wormebridge in 1589 and Jacob Powell was a curate at Kentchurch in 1589; HAS HD5/1/2, Bishop's Call Book, 1589. John Waters was a clergyman at Madley from 1576 to 1605; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book. William Price was vicar of Eaton Bishop in 1605; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online. Oliver Powell was a curate at Garway in 1601; HAS HD5/1/3, Bishop's Call Book, 1601. Walter Williams was vicar of Much Dewchurch from 1610 until his death in 1619; TNA STAC8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 4 James; HAS AJ25/1; Much Dewchurch Parish Register 1558-1745.

<sup>224</sup> The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835; [clergydatabase.org.uk](http://clergydatabase.org.uk).

word'; and John Baguley, vicar of Kentchurch and Garway, was also a self-conscious preacher, asserting that his preaching and 'conference with recusantes' had 'converted and caused all of them ... to Conforme themselves to the religions by your Matie graciously established and to Come to Churche'. He added 'a few of the poore sorte onlie excepted', thus implying that he had reached others of 'the poore sorte'.<sup>225</sup>

Yet, the evidence from south-west Herefordshire seems rather to support Stoye's argument that, in the decades leading up to the Civil War, Welsh was a factor which posed a significant barrier to the spread of Puritan ideas in Wales (Stoye included the substantial Welsh-speaking population of Herefordshire as part of Wales): the population was shielded from advanced Protestant views by incomprehension of the language in which those views were usually advanced.<sup>226</sup> Moreover, Catholic proselytisers, as well as Welsh Protestants, used the Welsh language in their cause. *Carolau* (poems in a popular metre, intended to be sung) survive in a dozen collections of Catholic manuscripts, including one which was a summary of Robert Persons' tract against attending Protestant services. Morys Clynnog, rector of the English College of Rome in the 1570s, claimed that songs, rhymes and poetry circulated among Welsh Catholics, 'repeated by all in their own native tongue' and promising that 'all good things will come from the City of Rome'.<sup>227</sup> In Archenfield it would have been possible to tap into a particular cultural legacy, an attachment to early Celtic Christianity, which would have resonated with Clynnog's notion of restoring the Old Faith. The Welsh church had been very active in this area, dominated by Dyfrig (Dubricius), a sixth-century British ecclesiastic and evangelist, and who was later venerated as a saint.<sup>228</sup> Born in Madley, he was also

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<sup>225</sup> TNA STAC8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 4 James; TNA STAC8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619.

<sup>226</sup> Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality*, p. 240.

<sup>227</sup> L. Bowen, 'Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales', *Past and Present*, 228 (2015), pp. 125-228, p. 150. Between 1577 and 1584 the martyred priest Richard White also devised a set of Welsh carols which included the subject of the sinfulness of attending heretical services; Walsham, 'Domme Preachers?', p. 114.

<sup>228</sup> Richards, 'The population of the Welsh border', p. 79.

associated with Moccas, Preston on Wye, St Devereux, Pencoyd, Hentland and Ballingham.<sup>229</sup>

The churches at Much Dewchurch, Little Dewchurch and Kilpeck are dedicated to another important Celtic saint, Dewi (St David).<sup>230</sup>

Politics and religion were closely bound in the early modern period and it may be that the Welsh were inclined to ‘cling to the old religion’ partly for nationalistic reasons. Stoye argued that ‘the common people of Wales nursed a concealed resentment against their Saxon neighbours’ who had not only defeated them but continued to ridicule them as ‘boors and half-wits’: these same Saxon neighbours were now Protestants.<sup>231</sup> The English, for their part, were suspicious of the Welsh as potential Catholic rebels. There were, for example, rumours of the men of Monmouthshire ‘to the number of 500 or 600’ arming themselves in 1603 on the death of Queen Elizabeth, and Stoye cites full-scale panic in London on the eve of the Civil War in 1641 because of reports of a papist plot centred on the Earl of Worcester’s castle at Raglan.<sup>232</sup>

The Welsh legacy in the area south and west of the Wye, and particularly of the western part of Archenfield, therefore, may well have been the single most important factor behind the relative strength of plebeian Catholicism in the early modern period. The area had been an early British kingdom, and although technically part of Mercia by the eighth-century, retained something of its Welsh identity as a buffer state. The Welsh language and, most likely, the Welsh custom of gavelkind, were still important in the early modern period, giving the area much in common with neighbouring Monmouthshire, and there were family and property links on either side of the border. Despite efforts by the English to promote Protestantism, language

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<sup>229</sup> Coplestone-Crow, ‘Herefordshire Place-Names’, map 2.

<sup>230</sup> Richards, ‘The population of the Welsh border’, p. 79; Moir, *Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Herefordshire*, p. 4.

<sup>231</sup> M. Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002), p. 50.

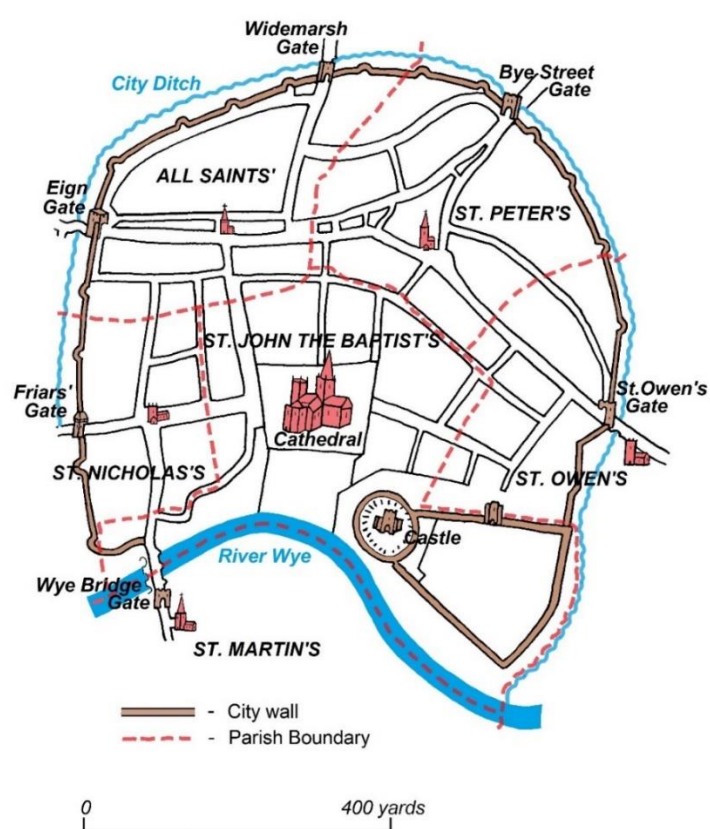
<sup>232</sup> TNA STAC8/207/30, Morgan v. Morgan 1605; Stoye, *West Britons*, p. 56.

difficulties, an attachment to Celtic Christianity and nationalistic pride probably kept many 'clinging to the old religion'.<sup>233</sup>

## Catholics in Herefordshire's towns

### Hereford, the county town

MAP XII Hereford city churches and parish boundaries within the city<sup>234</sup>



<sup>233</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 408.

<sup>234</sup> The area of St John's parish coincided with the former bishop's fee, taking in a few streets to the north and a few streets to the east and west of the cathedral, but there was no separate church building; E. Pitman, *The Parish that Disappeared: a History of St John's, Hereford* (Almeley, 2016), p. 2. Marshall maintained that St John's altar was against the west face of the choir screen, on the south side of the doorway that pierced the centre of the screen; the screen was destroyed in 1841; G. Marshall, *Hereford Cathedral* (Worcester, undated), pp. 173-175.

Hereford was indisputably one of England's backward cities when it came to religious reformation. It had neither the initial 'protestant constituency, the nucleus of an audience' for reform enjoyed by towns further to the east, nor Protestant leadership imposed from above.<sup>235</sup> There is no record of any early lay iconoclasm, as in neighbouring Worcester, where the images on several town crosses were defaced in 1529, and there were no strong connections with Protestant centres, as at Shrewsbury. The Myntons, a wealthy Protestant draper family, had houses in this town, a Welsh border town like Hereford, but also had a house in London.<sup>236</sup> Neither was there any significant early reforming leadership from Hereford's clergy. Worcester has been characterised by MacCulloch as a show-case city for Protestantism with government appointments of leading reformist bishops, such as Hugh Latimer in 1535, or Edward Sandys under Elizabeth.<sup>237</sup> Hereford's bishops, on the other hand, were the religiously conservative Edmund Bonner (1538-1539), Edward Fox (1536-1538), who although a Lutheran, was in office too briefly to be effective, and John Skip (1539-1552), who, despite at first supporting reform, demonstrated 'a reluctance to advance too far down the Protestant road'.<sup>238</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that when John Scory was appointed Bishop of Hereford in 1559 he found a city stubbornly resistant to change. The uncompromising Protestant Robert Crowley was collated archdeacon in March 1559 and made a canon in 1560, but Crowley held other posts in London, where he preached regularly, and is unlikely to have been in Hereford

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<sup>235</sup> P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 37.

<sup>236</sup> D. MacCulloch, 'Worcester: a Cathedral City in the Reformation', in P. Collinson and J. Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640* (London, 1998), pp. 94-112, p. 99; B. Coulton, 'The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town: a Study of Shrewsbury in the Sixteenth Century', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), pp. 307-335, p. 309.

<sup>237</sup> MacCulloch, 'Worcester: a Cathedral City', p. 98.

<sup>238</sup> A. A. Chibi, 'Fox, Edward (1496-1538)', *ONDB* (online edn., January 2008); K. Carleton, 'Bonner, Edmund (d. 1569)', *ONDB* (online edn., May 2006); D. G. Newcombe, 'Skip, John (d. 1552)', *ONDB* (online edn., January 2008). Throughout Henry VIII's last years and through Edward VI's reign, Skip 'stoutly maintained the Catholic cause in the House of Lords, opposing the bill for the administration of the sacraments in both kinds and for granting chantries to the king'; A.T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1924), p. 84.

very often.<sup>239</sup> Although Scory found a good Protestant in Edward Threlkeld to take on the role of Chancellor, and judged the dean, John Ellis, to be religiously sound, he nonetheless complained in 1564 that the cathedral was full of ‘dissemblers and rancke papistes’, and that no-one on the Common Council was ‘favourable’ to Protestantism. Two-thirds of the thirty-one Councillors were quite the opposite, and at least four, James Eyton, William Russell, John Hide and Thomas Havard, ‘be certeine thought to have masseis in their houseis ... (and) keape as it wer scoles in their houses of popery’. Havard, moreover, was ‘a receivar and mayntainar of the ennemeys of religion ... whose wife and maydens use bedes and be in short a mortall ennemy to Christen religion’.<sup>240</sup>

By the late 1560s religious allegiance on the Common Council began to shift. Perhaps in reaction to Scory’s complaints, James Boyle and James Warnecombe, noted by the bishop as favourable to the established religion in 1564, were both added to the Council in 1569, apparently because of the intervention of the Privy Council in Hereford’s affairs.<sup>241</sup> Another Protestant, Sir Gregory Price, became a councillor in 1572, and in 1574 James Warnecombe’s brother Richard became mayor, despite no prior service on the Council. These four held the mayoralty successively between 1571 and 1575, and three more times in the late 1570s.<sup>242</sup> Yet popery remained a force to be reckoned with among Hereford’s religious and secular leaders. In 1582 the subdean and the dean (now John Watkins), absented themselves on the pre-arranged day of Bishop Whitgift’s visitation and delegated the dean’s clerk, James Yaydon, to answer Whitgift’s questions.<sup>243</sup> Yaydon’s answers to Whitgift’s questions were surprisingly brief, and he may well have lied when he maintained that the clerics did not have any popish

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<sup>239</sup> B. Morgan, ‘Crowley, Robert (1517-1588)’, *ONDB* (online edn., January 2008).

<sup>240</sup> Bateson, *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council*, 1564, pp. 14-15, 19, 20. For Threlkeld see pp. 50-51.

<sup>241</sup> J. P. Dwyer, *Regulation in an Age of Reformation*, Hereford 1470-1610, p. 252.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>243</sup> John Watkins was dean from 1576 to 1593; Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses*, pp. 39-40.



books or relics.<sup>244</sup> In 1586 it was claimed in a letter to a Privy Councillor that ‘some recusants being indicted are wincked at by the iustices in respect of kinship or frendship’, or freed on technicalities.<sup>245</sup> In 1589 the Sergeants-at-Mace suspected Eleanor Morgan, maid to Catholic Mr John Seabourne of Sutton, of carrying ‘papishe gear’ through the streets of the city. When she was searched, incriminating books and letters addressed to the mayor, Richard Parrott, were found. The Sergeants maintained that the mayor’s wife was in possession of more such material.<sup>246</sup> Bishop Herbert Westfaling may have entertained doubts about some of the cathedral clergy – it was only a few years since a weekly sermon and biblical lectures had been ordered, following a visitation obtained by Scory - and the credentials at least of Edward Cowper, treasurer of ornaments and vestments from 1583 to 1586, were dubious.<sup>247</sup>

Perhaps, as the 1586 letter to the Privy Council indicated, the conservative pull of the city hierarchy acted as a break on recusancy presentments in the secular courts. Neither were many people presented to the ecclesiastical courts for Catholic offences; seventy-nine presentments for gentry and 732 for plebeians between 1582 and 1629.

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<sup>244</sup> Dwyer, *Regulation in an Age of Reformation, Hereford 1470-1610*, p. 252. Yaydon was probably a church papist at this point: in 1602 at All Saints’ parish he was presented to the church courts ‘for an obstinate recusant who does not receive the sacrament since 1599’; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602.

<sup>245</sup> TNA SP 12/195, f. 86 December 1586, Statement of the increase of Recusants in the diocese of Hereford, with means how the number of them may be diminished or at least stayed from increasing. The letter was unsigned but may have been from Bishop Westfaling who sent another letter to the Council on 3 December 1586; TNA SP 12/195, f. 85, December 3 1586, Harbert Westfaling, Bishop of Hereford, to the Council sends a note of the names and amount contributed by the clergy in his diocese for the furnishing of light horses.

<sup>246</sup> TNA SP 12/195, f. 86, Statement of the increase of Recusants; TNA SP 12/227, f. 36, The examination of William Church, swordbearer, October 1589. Seabourne was particularly suspect as his uncle William was in exile in Spain; TNA STAC5/A6/38, Phillips v. Atkins, 1591.

<sup>247</sup> See chapter two, pp. 255-256, for Cowper; G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral, a history* (London, 2000), pp. 93-94.

*Table 3(xiii) Numbers of plebeian Catholics presented from the parishes of Hereford city, in all reporting years between 1591- April 1630*

	St Nicholas's	All Saints'	St Peter's	St John's	St Owen's	St Martin's
Recusant rolls 1583 and 1586	0	0	4	4	4	1
1591 <sup>248</sup>	0	0	0	30	24	0
1592/3	1	12	3	9	4	8
1595	0	0	10	1	17	0
1602	6	11	8	1	0	0
1605	23	?	21	22	31	0
1608	9	21	4	0	22	13
1609	19	16	5	2	12	3
1611	17	19	0	0	12	1
1612	3	8	9	25	3	2
1613	11	11	15	14	9	2
1619	0	1	1	0	0	0
1620	9	10	1	7	4	0
1621	0	8	10	10	13	3
1623	0	7	2	0	4	0
1624	0	9	9	0	2	0
1625	0	16	16	0	7	0
1626	2	16	16	4	3	11
1627	0	22	22	4	1	0
1628	0	2	2	21	3	33
1629	0	1	1	13	19	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>77</b>

As in the rest of the county, most who were presented did not re-appear in the records. At All Saints' parish in 1608 for example, four of the twenty-one non-gentry people who were presented for not receiving the communion or for not attending church in 1608 were dismissed from the court with a warning, and of the rest, although excommunicated, only one, an innkeeper, was named again at the courts. Similarly, eleven of the nineteen presented for these offences in 1611 were dismissed and only four re-appeared in the records.<sup>249</sup>

Dwyer, however, argued that there was a close-knit community of non-gentry Catholics in Hereford in the 1580s and 1590s.<sup>250</sup> He identified twenty-one male recusants who acted as sureties for each other in bonds, traded only or primarily with each other, and played games together.<sup>251</sup> Dwyer also maintained that people listed as recusants were harrassed by the secular

<sup>248</sup> The dean's court book includes one entry for St John's and one for St Owen's dated 1591; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595.

<sup>249</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613.

<sup>250</sup> Dwyer, *Regulation in an Age of Reformation*, Hereford 1470-1610, p. 403.

<sup>251</sup> Dwyer claimed that the twenty-one identified as recusants in the 1580s and 1590s appeared in 106 bond cases (in Quarter Sessions records) to 1616, with one of the twenty-one acting as surety for another in ninety-two cases;

authorities, being twelve times more likely to be presented for six or more offences in the Tourn courts (the courts of the city wards) than were other Herefordians.<sup>252</sup> Unfortunately, Dwyer's argument is difficult to verify as he did not establish how he identified those named as recusants: they do not appear in the recusant rolls for the 1580s and early 1590s, and they are not recorded in the Hereford deanery church court records, which begin in 1592.<sup>253</sup>

Yet the Recusant Rolls and the Dean's Court records show that there was a handful of persistent recusants in Hereford over the period 1582 to April 1630 – four of gentry status and forty-five plebeians - and it is possible to infer the existence of a Catholic community in the city by examining the reports of the non-gentry recusants from each of Hereford's six parishes from 1582 onwards. There are clear overlaps of presentments at St Owen's, St Peter's and St Nicholas's, particularly in the 1590s and up to 1605, at every parish between 1605 and 1613 and from then to the middle of the 1620s, and it is likely, in so small a city, that these Catholics knew one another.

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his evidence of socialising was based on a Tourn court record from St Owen's ward from 1585 in which Joan Garnons, wife of recusant John Garnons, was fined for gaming along with eleven others, of whom seven were on Dwyer's list of recusants. Dwyer, *Regulation in an Age of Reformation, Hereford 1470-1610*, pp. 403-407.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., p. 403. The Tourn courts were run by each ward of the city along the lines of manor courts in parishes, with twelve jurors, people brought to court and fined for the infringement of by-laws.

<sup>253</sup> Bowler, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581-1592*; Bowler, Recusant Roll No. 2 (1593-4) and Recusant Roll No. 4 (1594-1596); HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595.

*Table 3(xiv) Years of reported recusancy of persistent non-gentry Catholics in Hereford's parishes [\*\* indicates presence at the mass at John Ireland's house in 1604]*

[illegible]

Furthermore, in February 1604 Bishop Robert Bennet found over one hundred people together at mass in the house of John Ireland and his wife Alice.<sup>254</sup> The bishop named fifty-two of those found, of whom it is possible to identify twenty-two: they were a mixed group – Hereford Catholics from different parts of the city, of both gentry and below gentry status, with the presence of the seven from parishes beyond Hereford indicating a wider network.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 124-125, The names of such recusantes as were assembled to hear a masse in the house of John Ireland February 1604, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>255</sup> The only other hint of a network in the records is from 1605 when Richard Hughes, a sawyer, ‘fledd out of Hereford about midnight 29 Maij’ to take news to Mr William Morgan of Treville of the impending search of Morgan’s house by Justices of the Peace; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 124-125, The names of such recusantes as were assembled to hear a masse in the house of John Ireland February 1604, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

**Table 3(xv) Catholics at the mass in John Ireland's house in Hereford, February 1604**

Name	Parish	Status	Comments
John Ireland <sup>256</sup>	St Peter's	Tailor	Recusant at St Peter's 1594 to 1605
Alice Ireland	St Peter's	Tailor's wife	Wife of John; recusant at St Peter's 1594 to 1605
Anne Elliotes	St Peter's	Gentry?	Widow, reported to the Privy Council in 1595; perhaps the widow of Mr John Elliot, a recusant 1583-86
Margaret Williams	St Peter's	Yeoman's wife	Wife of John Williams; recusant 1605 to 1613
Thomas Ffetiplace	St Owen's	Gentry	Noted as 'a persuader to popery' in the church courts in 1605; his wife was on the bishop's list of principal recusants in 1605
Lucie Griffithes	St Owen's	Wife of physician	Wife of Ambrose, who was on the High Sheriff's list of highly Jesuited people in 1605
Margaret Newton	St Owen's		Widow; recusant 1605
Katherine Jenkin	St Nicholas's		Apparently conformed in 1605
Margaret Knight	St Nicholas's	Wife of a corvisor <sup>257</sup>	A persistent recusant between 1595 and 1613, first as a wife then as a widow; in 1605 she 'received strange recusants into her house'.
Katherine Scudamore	St Nicholas's		Widow; recusant 1602 to 1608
Richard Stockton	St Nicholas's	Gentry	Recusant 1603 to 1613
Elizabeth, wife of Richard Stockton	St Nicholas's	Gentry	Recusant 1603 to 1608
Jane Mailard	All Saints'	Wife of a mercer	A persistent recusant between 1593 and 1618; wife of Robert Maylord, who was named as a gentleman in 1618.
Michael Vaughan	'of Hereford', parish unknown	Gentry	On the High Sheriff's list of highly Jesuited people in 1605
James Griffiths	'of Hereford', parish unknown		At the beginning of James I's reign James Griffiths alias Grafton was captured by the bishop of Hereford with about 140 others waiting to hear mass at Candlemas. After three days in prison he was brought before the bishop who found him constant and released him after bail to reappear two weeks later and then he was given a reprimand 'after a vain attempt at perversion'. He was brought up from infancy in Hereford, the only son of a distinguished family of average means. <sup>258</sup>
Elizabeth Bromminage, alias Bromwich	Madley	Gentry	She was the daughter of Thomas Bromwich of Madley, who died in 1586. She was allegedly warned to avoid Hereford in 1605 by the priest George Williams because of the impending troubles. <sup>259</sup>
John Phillips	Much Dewchurch?	Gentry	Perhaps Mr John Phillips who with his wife Catherine entertained seminaries in 1605
Henry Rawlee	Westhide	Gentry	
Julia Rawlee	Westhide	Gentry	Wife of Henry Rawlee
William Vaughan	Llanrothall	Gentry	Recusant from 1595 to 1616; several of his servants were at mass at the Darren in 1605
Marie Streete	Eaton Bishop		
Anne Bridges	Eaton Bishop?	Gentry?	Perhaps one of the gentry Bridges family of Eaton Bishop

<sup>256</sup> John Ireland was a tailor who came originally from Pembridge, and both he and his wife Alice were first named as recusants in the Pipe Rolls in July 1589; Bowler, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581-1592*.

<sup>257</sup> A corvisor was a leather worker.

<sup>258</sup> *Liber Ruber*, entry 496, reproduced in Kenny, 'The "Responsa Scholarum" of the English College', pp. 244-245.

<sup>259</sup> TNA prob/11/69, The Will of Thomas Bromwich, 1586; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary priest

There are a few other references to masses or to priests in Hereford: John Scory mentioned masses in the city in the 1560s; ‘papishe gear’ was carried through the streets in 1589 by John Seabourne’s maid; in 1609 Robert Bennet complained of public assemblies and the hosting of priests, and the annual letter from the Cwm to Rome in 1624 referred to the work of the Jesuits in prisons.<sup>260</sup> But there are no records of plebeian Catholic baptisms, marriages or burials, with the exception of the attendance of John Crosse of All Saints at the burial of popish recusant Howell Cicell in 1622.<sup>261</sup> Neither is there much evidence of church papism in the records for Hereford. There is just the occasional hint that a wife’s recusancy masked her husband’s sympathies, such as at St Peter’s where Matilda, wife of Thomas Parker, yeoman, was named as a recusant from 1595 to 1605 but Thomas never appeared before the courts, or at St John’s where Margaret, wife of Evan Powell, glover, was a recusant from 1591 to 1602 but did not appear in the records subsequently.<sup>262</sup> Perhaps, too, the sidesman, William Butler of St Owen’s, was a church papist in 1605 when he refused to support the churchwardens in their presentments or to help them ‘find out persons lurking abroad and tipling in alehouses at time of diven service’, including habitual non-receivers of the communion. Butler did not receive the communion in 1609 and 1611.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury, f. 13a, reproduced in Bateson, *Letters from the bishops to the Privy Council* 1564, pp. 19-20; TNA SP 12/195, f. 86, *Statement of the causes of the increase of Recusants*; TNA SP 12/227, f. 36, *The examination of William Churche, swordbearer, October 1589*; TNA SP 14/49, f. 44, *Ralph Eure to the Earl of Salisbury 13 November 1609*; HCA 7002/1/3, *Dean’s Court 1618-1629*; Thomas, *A great number of popish books*, p. 45.

<sup>261</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, *Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630*.

<sup>262</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, *Dean’s Court 1592-1595*; HAS HD4/1/162, *Acts of Office 1605-1606*.

<sup>263</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, *Acts of Office 1605-1606*; HCA 7002/1/2, *Dean’s Court 1608-1613*.

## The market towns: Ross, Kington, Weobley, Pembridge, Leominster, Bromyard, and Ledbury

*Table 3(xvi) Numbers of gentry (in bold) and non-gentry Catholics presented from Herefordshire's market towns<sup>264</sup>*

	1580s	1595	1600	1602	1605	1608/ 9	1611	1614	1618	1625	1627	1632	1635/6
Ross	0/19	0/2	0/0	No data	0/1	1/7	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/6	1/10	1629 0/8	1/5
Kington	2/8	0/1	8/9	7/8	1/9	2/13	5/2	0/2	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/1
Weobley	0/2	2/0	7/0	1/0	5/4	6/0	0/0	5/13	3/2	1/6	4/1	4/0	8/2
Pembridge	7/5	0/0	0/1	2/0	10/ 4	5/2	5/1	5/8	4/0	13/1 3	15/7	8/1	1/1
Leominster	0/5	0/2	2/1	5/17	3/4	5/2	5/9	3/4	0/0	5/17	5/7	0/6	0/6
Bromyard	9/33	2/10	2/5	1/0	2/1 4	0/21	No data	2/5	0/2	0/3	0/12	0/0	0/0
Ledbury	6/7	0/15	1/2	0/2	8/2 4	2/21	No data	0/0	0/4	0/18	0/1	0/0	0/0

As is the case for Hereford, little information survives about Catholicism in the county's market towns. No Catholic gentry families were presented from Ross, and no plebeian accused of religious offences was presented more than once, despite evidence of religious conservatism – a widow keeping back ‘an old Cope which was used to be put over the dead’ in 1596; a man commenting sarcastically in 1609 that ‘his mastiff dogge had better devotion than us for assone the little bell did ringe his dogge would come to church’, and another man ‘ringing the handbell through Ross streets’ at a funeral in 1629, ‘which we take to be donn in derision (yf not superstition)’.<sup>265</sup> Kington, on the other hand, may have been something of a gentry stronghold, with members of five gentry families dominating recusancy presentments from the 1580s to 1611. Perhaps there was a connection between them and the groups of plebeians presented

<sup>264</sup> Shading shows years where most presentments were of gentry.

<sup>265</sup> Alice Lewis kept back the cope; John Feckman asserted the superior devotion of his mastiff dog, and Anthony Beale rang the bell at the funeral; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/166, Acts of Office 1609; HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630. The bishop had a manor and a market at Ross, but the town was dominated in the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries by the leather and iron industries. There were many tanneries in the lower town and the ironworks were valued at £67 in 1597. A fight was reported in 1603 between two groups of ironworkers, those from the furnace of the Earl of Shrewsbury against those from the works of Herbert Croft. Hughes and Hurley, *The Story of Ross*, pp. 12, 26, 27, 32.



alongside them, as these small groups disappeared in 1614, three years after the presentment of the last gentlewoman, Sibill Willison.<sup>266</sup>

Weobley, too, had regular presentments of gentry. Members of the gentry Bridges family were recusants there between 1605 and 1642. The Bridges lived at the Ley, an ancient manor house just outside the town, and appear to have been at the centre of a household which included gentry Lingens and Monningtons, as well as a handful of household servants and a spinster of below gentry status, similarly to the household at Sarnesfield, just a mile away.<sup>267</sup> Indeed, one couple, Mr William Byford and his wife Sara, moved from Sarnesfield to Weobley in the late 1620s.<sup>268</sup> If there was a seigneurial influence beyond the servants, however, the records give no clue to this. In 1614 thirteen plebeians were presented for not receiving communion, alongside recusants Walter Monnington, Catherine and Jane Lingen and Jane Bridges, but only John, the servant of Mr Jacob Bridges, can be identified as connected to the gentry families.

The church court records for Pembridge suggest something similar. Here too most presentments were of gentry: members of several related families appear and reappear as recusants between 1582 and 1638, occasionally joined by Baskervilles, Bowiers and Hawkins.<sup>269</sup> The core families lived in various houses and hamlets scattered across the parish.

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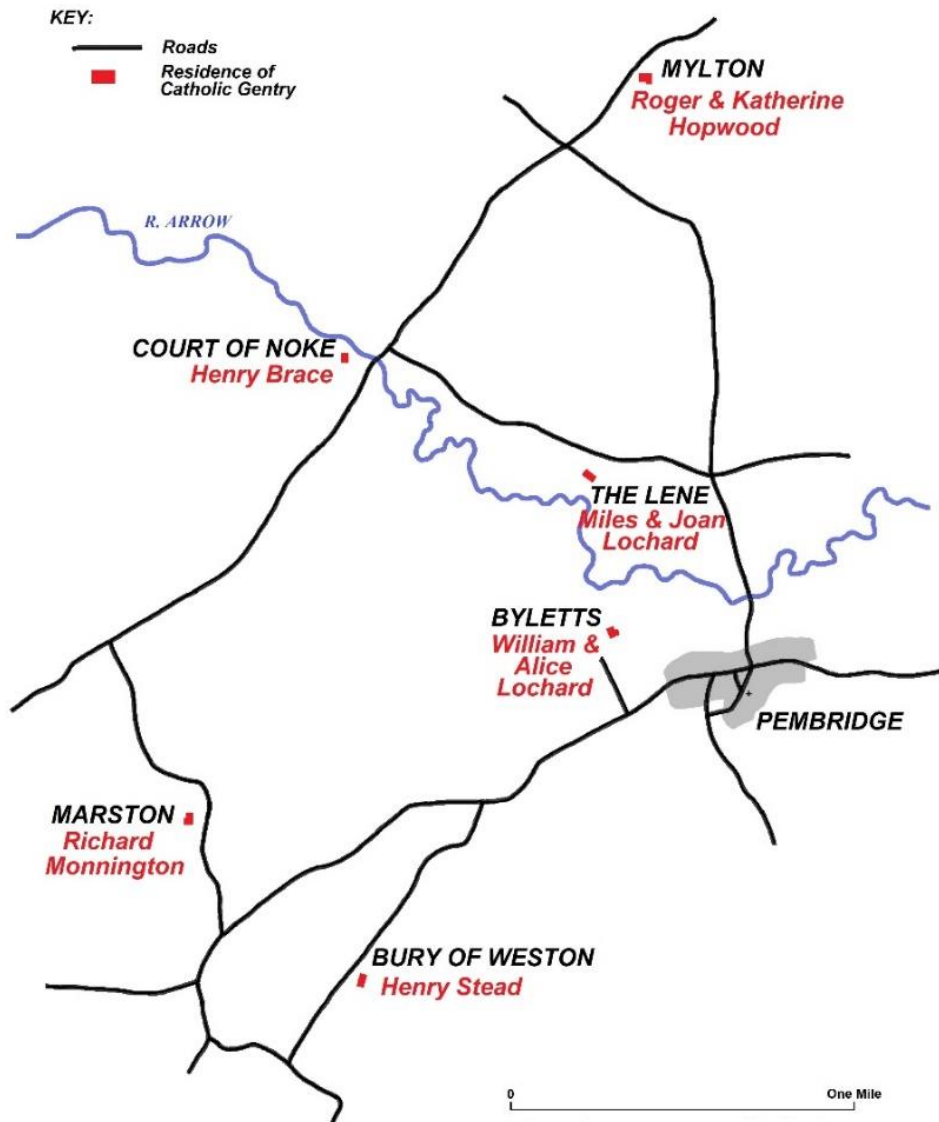
<sup>266</sup> HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD 4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609. Sibill Willison was not identified as gentry in the court records, but hers was an unusual surname and she was perhaps a minor gentry relation of the Catholic Richard and Anne Willison. Anne died in 1591; TNA prob11/78, The Will of Anne Willison 1591.

<sup>267</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639; HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642. The Ley was in the possession of the Bridges family from at least 1428; William Monnington was presented to the church courts in 1608 as 'gentleman of the Ley', so presumably living with the Bridges. The non-gentry woman was Joyce Bilmore, spinster, one of the witnesses to James Bridges's will, a recusant listed with the family from 1614 to 1635 and named in the bishop's register of 1616 as servant to Mrs Jane Bridges; TNA prob11/125, The Will of James Bridges 1613; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 332; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register. Norman Reeves quoted Howse's *History of Weobley* as saying that there was a secret chamber (implying a priests' hole) at the Ley; *Worcester Recusant* 1986.

<sup>268</sup> The Byfords were recusants at Sarnesfield from 1605 to 1614 and at Weobley from 1627 to 1640; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD 4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628 to HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642.

<sup>269</sup> HAS 33/2/6, The Will of Roger Hopwood of Pembridge 1623, Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, pp. 62, 136.

MAP XIII Pembridge



Their relationships suggest a close-knit community. Katherine Hopwood, wife of Roger Hopwood of Mylton, was sister to Alice Lochard, wife of William Lochard of Byletts Hall.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>270</sup> HAS 33/2/6, The Will of Roger Hopwood of Pembridge 1623.

Roger Hopwood's brother-in-law, Richard Monnington, lived at Marston; Miles Lochard, William Lochard's brother, lived at the Lene.<sup>271</sup> Miles Lochard had married Joan, daughter of Henry Stead of the Bury of Weston, and the parents of Miles and William were Robert Lochard and Katherine Brace, daughter of Henry Brace of Court of Noke.<sup>272</sup> They were probably of no higher status than 'mere parish gentry', although the sisters Katherine and Alice were both daughters of Richard Seabourne of Sutton St Nicholas and so perhaps connected to the squirearchical recusant Seabournes of neighbouring Sutton St Michael.<sup>273</sup> It is possible that the thirteen people of below gentry status presented for Catholic offences in 1625 and the seven in 1627 were linked to these households via priests, although the only record of a priest was in 1632 when plebeian presentments were low. In 1632 a 'Romish priest' was 'supposed' to be at the Lene and officiated at the marriage of Mr Walter Baskerville who was 'sojourning' there. Later in the same year a Baskerville daughter born at the house was christened by a priest.<sup>274</sup>

Gentry Catholicism at Leominster centred on Richard Blount esquire, the eldest son of Mary and Roger Blount of Monkland.<sup>275</sup> He was a member of the bar on the Oxford circuit, and probably a church papist.<sup>276</sup> From 1605 to 1626 his wife Rachel was a recusant at Leominster; in 1605 his brother Thomas 'resorteth at certen tymes to his brother's howse but doth not receave nor come to churche', and in 1616, as well as going 'from alehouse to alehouse, was 'most often at the house of Richard Blunt esquire his brother'; in 1606 the gentleman Jacob Hiatt, quite likely the Jacob Hiatt who had been at Monkland in 1602 and listed by the Bishop of Hereford as a principal recusant in 1605, was 'sojourning' with Richard.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> HAS 33/2/6, The Will of Roger Hopwood of Pembridge 1623, Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 62.

<sup>272</sup> Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, pp. 62, 63.

<sup>273</sup> Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, pp. 62, 136.

<sup>274</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>275</sup> Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 37.

<sup>276</sup> T. Bongaerts, *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount 1618-1679* (Amsterdam, 1978), p. 1.

<sup>277</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register; TNA SP/14/14, ff. 122-123, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June

The Jesuits were probably regular visitors to Leominster: Robert Jones had visited the adjacent parish of Monkland in 1607 and was at Leominster just before the execution of Cadwallador in 1610, and young Francis Havard had been converted ‘in part’ by Jesuits in Leominster in the 1620s.<sup>278</sup> They, as well as Blount’s gentry circle, may have supported the small groups of non-gentry Catholics who were presented regularly from the town. There were also a few persistent plebeian recusants who were of sufficient standing to perhaps be independent of the Blount group. Two ‘obstinate recusants’, Alice Bishop, a recusant from 1588 to 1605, and Mary Nichols, a recusant from 1608 to 1627, were the wives of a dyer and a tanner respectively; Thomas Powell, coverlet weaver, was a recusant from 1600 to 1636; and Richard Monnox, a recusant along with his wife from 1605 to 1637, was a yeoman of substantial means.<sup>279</sup>

At Bromyard the survival of Swithun Butterfield’s ‘Survey of the Bishoprick Estates 1577-1581’ makes it possible to identify the Catholics presented to the ecclesiastical court in the 1580s with a degree of detail.<sup>280</sup> Nineteen people were presented to the church courts: nine of the eleven who can definitely be identified were minor gentry or yeomen, and the other two were a servant and a pauper:

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1605. There were other gentry in and around Leominster who may have been part of a group around the Blounts, for example, the Aubreys of Ivington, Mr Jacob Hill, the Smallmans of Ivington, and, in 1612, Anna née Blount, sister of Richard and ‘wife of Wallop Brabson gentleman’; Wallop Brabazon features as an opponent to Robert Harley in the 1630s and 1640s; J. Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, (Glasgow, 2002), pp. 106, 156-7; Bongaerts, *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount*, p. 1; HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612.

<sup>278</sup> TNA SP 14/28/122/1, Report of Richard Bubb 1607; AAW, Series A, IX, 74, An account of the martyrdom of Roger Cadwallador by Robert Jones 1610, in Latin; transcribed at Belmont Archives, Hereford. Francis Blount alias Havard, the son of Mary and Francis Havard of Eye, told the English College at Rome that he was brought up in Eyton and Leominster and was converted in part by Jesuits. As he was a heretic until he was 13, in 1623, it may have been Jesuits at Leominster who were responsible for his conversion. Francis made his report in 1634; *Liber Ruber*, entry 757, reproduced in Kenny, ‘The “Responsa Scholarum” of the English College’, p. 446.

<sup>279</sup> HAS HD4/1/153, Acts of Office 1587-1588 to HAS HD4/1/162 Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609 to HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1636. Mary was the wife of John Nichols, a tanner, and from 1609 a Mary, wife of John Nichols tanner, possibly the same person, was a recusant at Hope-under-Dinmore. Alice Bishop held her own freehold land worth £3 and in 1626 she was presented with her husband Thomas. Richard Monnox may have been the second son of Edward Monox of Leominster, who died in 1577; Edward had a house in Cornmarket and one in West Street and left a house and tenement on the north side of West Street to Richard, along with lands and pastures; TNA prob/11/59, The Will of Edward Monox of Leominster, 1577; HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register.

<sup>280</sup> HAS AA59/A/2, Butterfield’s Survey.

**Table 3(xvii) The social status of the fifteen people presented in the 1580s to the church courts for not frequenting church or not receiving the communion in Bromyard**

Name	Status	Years presented	Property held where known
Bromiard, Richard	gentleman	1586, 1595	
Hunt, Rowland	gentleman	1586	Two burgages in Croxewall Street <sup>281</sup>
Hunt, Randolph	gentleman	1586, 1587, 1588	
Hunt, Randolph, his wife	gentry	1584, 1586, 1587, 1588	
Hunt, Richard	gentleman	1584, 1587	
Collies, John	yeoman; a juror for Butterfield's survey	1582	Copyhold land in Norton; a burgage in New Street paying 9d. per annum <sup>282</sup>
Collies, John, his wife	yeoman	1582 (and perhaps 1610)	See John, above
Nicholson, Henry	yeoman	1582, 1584, 1586, 1588	One virgate of copyhold land in Winslow <sup>283</sup>
Nicholson, Angaret, wife of Henry	yeoman	1582, 1584, 1586, 1588	See Henry, above
Hamond, Charles	yeoman?	1584, 1586	One virgate of copyhold land in Linton
Hamond, Anna, wife of Charles	yeoman?	1586	
Ackerwood, John	yeoman?; a juror for Butterfield's survey of Bromyard Foreign	1584, 1586, 1588, 1613	Perhaps from the neighbouring parish of Whitbourne <sup>284</sup>
Shere, Thomas	Servant to Rowland Hunt	1582	
Clud, Richard	pauper	1584, 1586	
Browne, William	gentleman related to Richard Browne?	1584, 1586, 1588	Richard Browne held twelve burgages in Bromyard

Several of these people held land in the parish rather than in the town, and two, yeoman John Collies and gentleman Rowland Hunt, had property in both. This was typical – nearly a third (twenty-eight per cent) of all the Bromyard burgage holders listed in Butterfield's survey also had land in the wider parish of Bromyard.

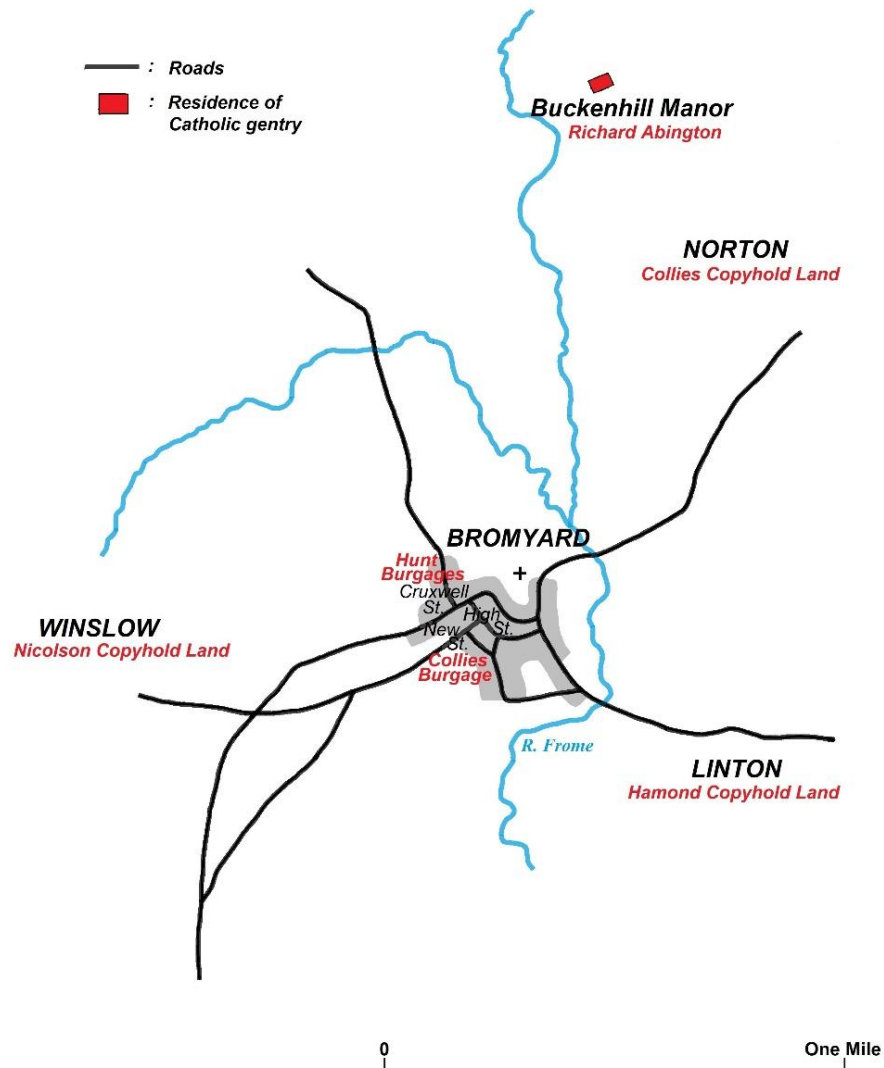
<sup>281</sup> Rowland Hunt held two burgages in Croxewall Street, but if, with Randolph and Richard Hunt, he was related to the Richard Hunt of Norton-by-Bromyard who paid 20s. in the lay subsidy of 1546, he too may have lived outside of Bromyard; Faraday, *Herefordshire Taxes in the Reign of Henry VIII*, p. 283.

<sup>282</sup> John Collies held 'three parts' of a burgage in New Street but also held a considerable amount of copyhold land – five virgates plus pasture in both Norton, nearly four miles to the north-east of the town, and Winslow, two miles to the south-west. The surname Collies, also spelt Coolles, Colle and Coly, occurred quite often in sixteenth-century tax or rental lists, and seems to have been a well-established family. In the 1541 lay subsidy, for example, a Richard Coole paid £40 in goods at Bromyard, in 1545 a Thomas Coly paid £7, and in 1547 a Roger Colle paid £10 in Norton; Faraday, *Herefordshire Taxes in the Reign of Henry VIII*, pp. 149, 282, 356.

<sup>283</sup> One virgate was the equivalent of about 30 acres; Raymond, *Words from Wills*, p. 108.

<sup>284</sup> John Ackerwood was a juror for Butterfield's survey of Bromyard Foreign but there were no Ackerwoods in any lay subsidies for Bromyard. He was perhaps related to the Akeroods of the neighbouring parish of Whitbourne, several of whom were taxed in the lay subsidies of the 1540s; Faraday, *Herefordshire Taxes in the Reign of Henry VIII*, pp. 263, 288; HAS AA59/A/2, Butterfield's Survey.

MAP XIV Bromyard



It is probable that Richard Abington, esquire, was supporting this Catholic congregation. Abington lived at Buckenhill Manor, a mile north of the town, and was clearly a committed and active Catholic of some note.<sup>285</sup> His house had been searched for priests in 1581, and in September 1586 he had been arrested with his brothers Edward and Thomas on suspicion of conspiracy in the Babington Plot, although he was ‘discharged upon bond taken

<sup>285</sup> Bowler, *Recusant Roll No. 3 (1594-1595)*, p. 34; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, p. 55. Buckenhill was in Norton township, where Rowland Hunt’s father may have lived and where John Collies held land.

of him by Mr Waade' on 17 November, Popham noting that he was one against whom 'wee find no matter, other then that they are obstinate Recusants'.<sup>286</sup> In November 1605, just after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, Bishop Robert Bennet informed the Earl of Salisbury that local constables were complaining of Abington's receiving many recusants in his house, although at the time of the complaint Abington was at his house in Redriff, in London, not at Buckenhill.<sup>287</sup> There were also reports that he received priests: the Jesuit Stansby alias Drury stayed at Redriff; the high sheriff of Hereford claimed he was closely associated with the Jesuit Thomas Lister alias Butler, based at Hindlip, the Abington house in Worcestershire, but sometimes resident with Richard in Herefordshire, 'stirring up' Catholics to arms; and it was said in 1607 that the priest Russell frequented Buckenhill.<sup>288</sup>

The only definite evidence of seigneurial influence at Bromyard, however, is that three Bromyard yeomen, Richard Deynton, Roger Collie and Richard Lirrye, presented to the ecclesiastical courts in 1605 with their wives, were all named by the Bishop of Hereford as Abington's 'servants'.<sup>289</sup> Richard and Margaret Deynton lived in Brockhampton, between Bromyard and its neighbouring parish of Whitbourne, where they were excommunicated in 1602, but nothing else is known of them.<sup>290</sup> Richard Lirrye was possibly the second son of

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<sup>286</sup> TNA SP 12/151, f. 44, Relation of the proceedings of John Worsley and William Newall, messengers of the Chamber; TNA SP Elizabeth, CXCI, Attorney General's List of Priests and other Prisoners 25 September 1586, reproduced in Wainwright, *The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, 1581-1602*, p. 259. Richard Abington's obstinacy persisted - he appeared on all the recusancy rolls between 1586 and 1633; Bowler, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, 1581-1592*, p. 9; Bowler, *Recusant Rolls 1593-1594*, p. 48; Bowler, *Recusant Rolls 1594-1596*, p. 34; TNA E 376/8, Recusant Roll 1598-1599 to TNA E 376/40, Recusant Roll 1633-1634.

<sup>287</sup> TNA SP 14/16, f. 209, Robert Bennet to the Earl of Salisbury November 1605. Richard Abington also held land to the north and south of Buckenhill, in Norton and Ingstone, as well several properties in the town; HAS AA59/A/2, Butterfield's Survey.

<sup>288</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605. Robert Bennet noted in a letter to Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacy that 'it is well enough known that many ... priests do lurk about our Countrey'; TNA SP14/16 f. 209, Robert Bennet to Lord Salisbury November 1605; TNA SP 14/28/122/1, Report of Richard Bubb 1607. Hodgetts notes that 'It has not been possible to identify Russell or say whether the name indicates a link with the Russells of Little Malvern in Worcestershire; M. Hodgetts, Shropshire Priests, private communication; I am grateful to Michael Hodgetts for this information.

<sup>289</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocese of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>290</sup> HAS HD 4/1/160, Acts of Office 1602.

Robert Lirrye, glasier of Bromyard, who died in 1604.<sup>291</sup> Roger Collie cannot be precisely placed in the Collie family, though he was perhaps related to John Collies the yeoman presented for not receiving the communion in 1582.<sup>292</sup> John Collies may also have been the John Collies allegedly favoured because of his Catholicism by Thomas Hankey of the Council in the Marches in 1591.<sup>293</sup> As well as being servants to Abington, each of these couples no doubt took part in masses held at Abington's house, although only Mary Lirrye and the Collies continued as recusants.<sup>294</sup> Yet, similarly to other parishes with long-term gentry in parishes north and east of the Wye, no large Catholic congregation from Bromyard was associated with Abington. In the 1600s only three people, of non-gentry status, other than those mentioned above, were presented for four years or more; other individuals, generally few in number, were presented only once.<sup>295</sup>

Seigneurial Catholicism may also have been important at Ledbury - the marked break in presentments of plebeians for Catholic offences in 1608, shown on table 3(xvi), coincided with the end of presentments of gentry. Prior to 1608 Catholic gentry presence in Ledbury had been strong. Richard Willison, one of the 'influential persons prepared in the interests of Mary Queen of Scots' in 1574, had purchased Ledbury's chantry lands and was also lessee of Upper Hall, situated in the town.<sup>296</sup> Willison married Ann Elton, daughter of one of Ledbury's wealthiest men, and her half-brother Anthony Elton and his wife Alice, a Scudamore from the

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<sup>291</sup> HAS 7/4/9, The Will of Robert Lyrry of Bromyard 1604.

<sup>292</sup> HAS HD4/1/150, Acts of Office 1582-1583. Another John Collie of Bromyard left a will in 1578: he bequeathed £10 each to the children of Roger Collie and Roger was his executor, but no relationship is specified in the document; HAS 13/3/46, The Will of John Collie of Bromyard 1578.

<sup>293</sup> TNA STAC5/A6/38, Phillips v. Atkins 1591.

<sup>294</sup> Mary Lirrye was presented for recusancy to the archidiaconal court in 1609 and Roger and Elizabeth Collie were presented as recusants in 1609 and 1627; Elizabeth was said to have refused to come to church in 1625, and she was presented again as a recusant in 1631; HAS HD4/1/166, Acts of Office 1609; HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628; HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630.

<sup>295</sup> John Ackerwood, or perhaps the son of the John who was presented in the 1580s, was presented in 1613, and Anna Cowmeadowe and Richard Whittingslowe appeared twice before the courts for recusancy, in 1605 and then again in 1609; HAS HD 4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605; HAS HD 4/1/166, Acts of Office 1609; HAS HD 4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614;

<sup>296</sup> TNA SP Elizabeth XCIX, CLVII, reproduced in Wainewright, Two Lists of Influential Persons Apparently Prepared in the Interests of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 114. Willison had leased Upper Hall from his uncle Bishop Skyppe in 1542 and purchased the chantry lands in 1549; Hillaby, *The Book of Ledbury*, p. 33.



Catholic Kentchurch branch of the family, became prominent Catholic recusants in Ledbury. Both were on the bishop of Hereford's list of 'all persons who refuse to come to church' in 1577.<sup>297</sup> Anthony Elton had conformed by 1586, but Alice was presented as a recusant to the ecclesiastical courts between 1586 and 1605, when her small Catholic household included her sister Margaret Scrivener, Mary, wife of John White, gentleman, and one or two servants.<sup>298</sup>

Catholic gentry influence in Ledbury apparently ceased after the disappearance of Alice Elton from the church courts records after 1605.<sup>299</sup> Ambrose Elton, heir to Anthony and Alice, probably lived at Ledbury from 1596, and was presented to the church courts for not receiving the communion in 1605, but after that his religious allegiance seems to have shifted, and he was not presented again for religious offences.<sup>300</sup> Indeed, in 1618 he became high sheriff for Herefordshire and swore that 'no potentates hath or ought to have and Jurisdiction ... ecclesiastical' and that he renounced all authorities except the king.<sup>301</sup> Perhaps he was swayed by the demands of worldly success. Together with his cousin, Edmund Skippe, a young member of another significant Ledbury family, Ambrose had inherited 'all the residue' of Richard Willison's lands.<sup>302</sup> The legacy included two mills at Walhills, just outside the town, which Elton, Skippe and a third Ledbury man, Edward Skynner, converted for fulling. By

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<sup>297</sup> Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 114; Faraday, *Herefordshire Taxes in the Reign of Henry VIII*, p. 245; TNA SP 12/118, ff. 17-18, Bishop Scory to the Council 2 November 1577.

<sup>298</sup> Margaret Scrivener was on the Bishop of Hereford's list of principal recusants in 1605; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605. Mary White was also presented for recusancy in 1602; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602.

<sup>299</sup> Alice Elton, widow, was a recusant in 1605, but the only Eltons subsequently presented for Catholic offences were Dorothy Elton and Alice Elton junior, perhaps her daughters, in 1608. Alice Elton senior had presumably died; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609.

<sup>300</sup> TNA prob/11/57, The Will of Richard Willison, 1571; TNA prob/11/78, The Will of Anne Willison 23 February 1591. Ambrose Elton took a BA at Brasenose College Oxford at the age of 18 in 1591; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis 1500-1714* (London, 1891), p. 461; he is recorded as 'of Hazle' in 1596 in HAS A61/1, Ledbury Easter Book. HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>301</sup> Ambrose Elton was sworn sheriff on 6 November 15 James; TNA C 202/8, The Oath of Ambrose Elton sheriff 1618.

<sup>302</sup> TNA prob/11/57, The Will of Richard Willison, 1571.

1608, and in the absence of a corporate borough, Elton, Skippe and Skynner ‘had emerged as a plutocracy’ behind Ledbury’s thriving cloth-making industry.<sup>303</sup>

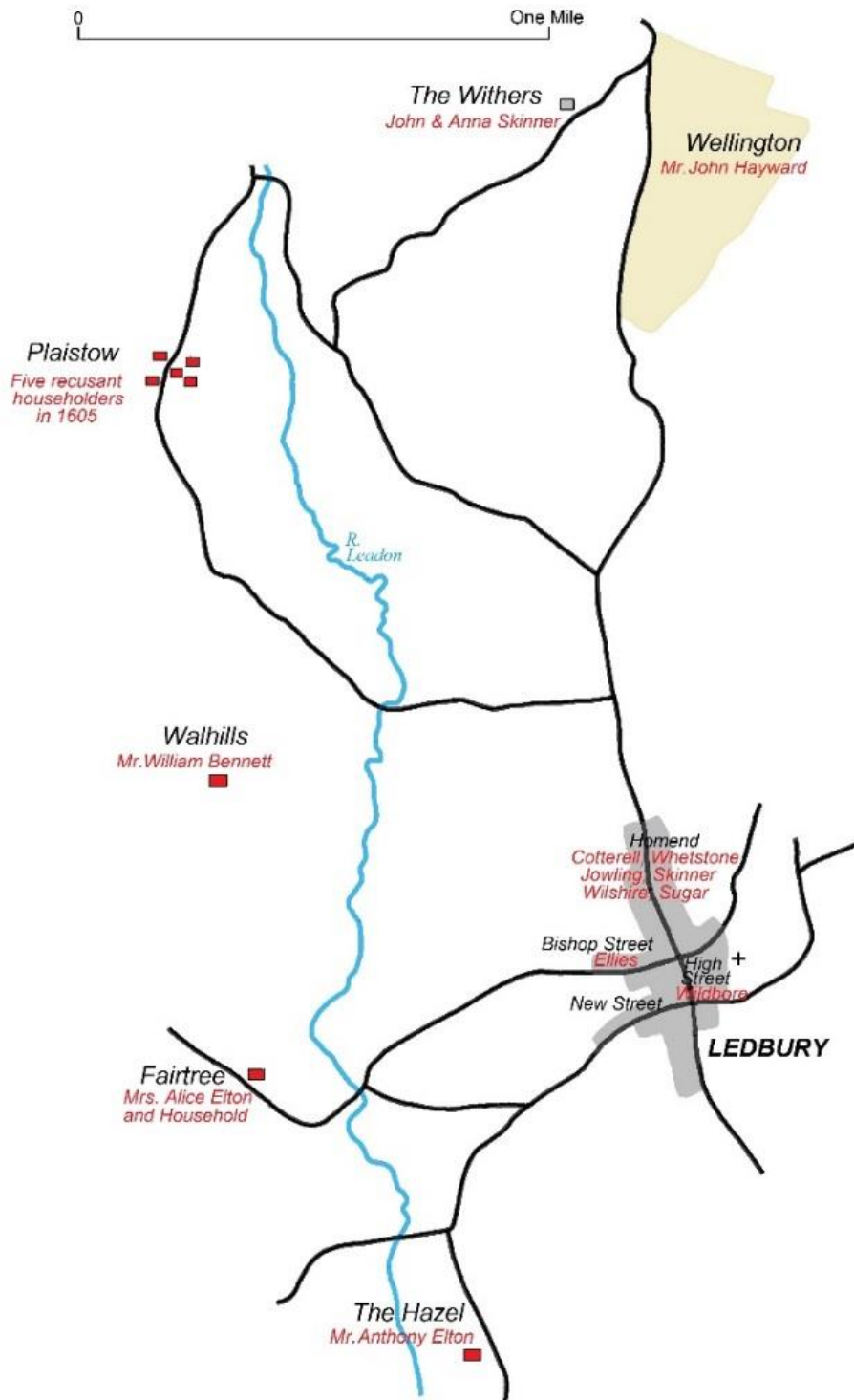
If, however, the influence of Alice Elton had been key to the survival of Catholics of lower status in this small market town prior to 1608, the nature of the link is obscure. The survival of Easter tithe books from 1595 to 1607 makes it possible to identify and locate the residences of twenty-seven of the thirty-three Ledbury people presented in 1605 for not frequenting church, not receiving the communion, or for recusancy, and to make a reasonable guess at the identity of six others:

*Table 3(xviii) People from Ledbury parish presented at the metropolitan visitation of 1605 and their places of residence*

Ledbury ‘forren’	Gentry	Yeomen or householders	Unwaged or servants	Occupation unknown	Total
Fairtree and the Hasills	3	-	3	-	6
Plaistow	-	5	-	-	5
Wellington	4	3	-	-	7
Walhills	1	-	-	-	1
<b>Ledbury town</b>					
Homend	-	3	3	-	6
New Street	-	1	-	-	1
Bishopstreet	-	1	-	-	1
High Street	-	-	3	-	3
Unknown location	-	-	-	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>33</b>

<sup>303</sup> Hillaby, *The Book of Ledbury*, p. 33; Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town*, pp. 34, 37.

MAP XV Ledbury



The Catholic gentry all lived outside the town in Ledbury ‘forren’, though none of their homes was more than two miles distant, but only the Eltons seem to have had other Catholic gentry and servants in their household.<sup>304</sup> Yeoman families of substance, however, were providing leadership to non-gentry Catholics. At Wellington, recusants John and Anna Skinner of the Withers, were ‘receiving recusants’ into their house in 1605, and at the hamlet of Plaistow, five of twelve householders were recusants and may well operated as a semi-independent group.<sup>305</sup>

In the town of Ledbury itself there are no documented connections between Catholic gentry and any of the assorted group of householders and young people presented for religious offences in 1605. The non-gentry Catholics who were presented from Homend, the street which ran north from the market place, may have formed a little community of their own. Homend was the least prestigious address in the town, the place where most subdivisions of property occurred during this period of rapid population increase at Ledbury as the cloth industry boomed.<sup>306</sup> Two people here were excommunicated for receiving recusants in 1605: Joan Cotterell, perhaps the wife of householder Anthony Cotterell, and John Jowling alias

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<sup>304</sup> William Bennet, gentleman of Walhills, near the township of Wellington, three miles north of Ledbury, was presented in 1605 for not receiving the communion at Easter, and gentry William and Peter Lawrence, and Peter’s son Thomas, of Pratts at Wellington, were presented for not frequenting church. Mr John Hayward of Prior’s Court in Wellington, was accused of lodging John Hayward junior, gentleman and recusant. The 1599 lay subsidy assessments for Hayward and Bennet suggest they were of a similar standing to the Eltons – Hayward was assessed at £8, Bennet at £4, Ambrose Elton at £6. The position of the Lawrences is not so clear, as only Thomas Lawrence was assessed, at the much lower amount of 20s. Like Ambrose Elton, however, none of these gentry was presented again at the ecclesiastical courts for religious offences, and there were no other persistently Catholic gentry in the town of Ledbury likely to have provided significant support to Catholics of lower social status. HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS A61/1, Ledbury Easter Book; TNA E 179/118/381, Lay Subsidy Broxash October 1599.

<sup>305</sup> John and Anna Skinner were first presented to the church courts for not receiving the communion in 1586; John was assessed for goods worth £6 in the 1599 lay subsidy. The householders named at Plaistow in 1605 were John Mutlow, Harry Mutlow, Thomas Mutlow, Anne Meeke, James Band, John Band, Alice Band, Ann Preese, John Meeke, Edward Meeke, Richard Powes and Robert Trebate. Of these, reported as recusants were the recently married John Band, his mother Alice Band and his sister Alice Price, the older Harry Mutlow who married in 1584, and Anne Meeke, perhaps part of the family of John or Edward Meeke. John Band of Plaistow married Ann Meeke 4 May 1605; HAS BO92/3, Ledbury General Register; TNA prob/11/9, The Will of John Bande of Ledbury, yeoman, 1598; TNA E 179/118/381, Lay Subsidy Broxash October 1599; HAS HD4/1/151, Acts of Office 1586; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>306</sup> Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town*, p. 40.

Joldinge, a young weaver.<sup>307</sup> Likely members of their group, and all presented for not receiving the communion, were Richard Skinner, another Homend householder; Francis Wilshire, unwaged apprentice to clothier Thomas Bidewhile whose daughter he had recently married; John Whetstone, a servant, and the youth Margaret Sugar, perhaps the daughter of Ann Sugar, unwaged, of the same street. The young John Wildbore and his wife, unwaged of High Street, and householder John Ellies and his wife of Bishop's Street, also refused the communion. Ellies clearly had connections with the Bands of Plaistow, where no gentry resided, having witnessed the will of John Band senior in 1598.<sup>308</sup>

Given the absence of visible connections between gentry and non-gentry Catholics in Ledbury, it was perhaps a determined Protestant influence in the town that had an impact on presentments to the ecclesiastical courts for Catholic offences. The influence is unlikely to have come from William Davies, rector between 1576 and 1612, although there may have been a religious ingredient in Davies' long-standing dispute with Ambrose Elton over tithes unpaid since 1593 and thus in Elton's youthful Catholic days, which grew in 1605 to encompass rights to herbage and accusations of libel.<sup>309</sup> However, by 1612, a remarkably resolute Protestant had certainly arrived in Ledbury. This was Thomas Thornton, newly-appointed master of St Katherine's hospital, the almshouse in the centre of the town. Thornton claimed in his will that he had been 'in continual travail ... for the doctrine of the true Church of Christ', and thanked God for 'bringing me into this world when the general apostasy of the Church of Rome and her

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<sup>307</sup> Anthony Cotterell was a householder in Homend from 1597 to 1604; John Jowling was heir to his father, a weaver who died in 1604; John Jowling senior is the only person of this surname who was entered in the Ledbury parish register and may well have been a newcomer; HAS BO92/3, Ledbury General Register; HAS A61/1, Ledbury Easter Book.

<sup>308</sup> John Wildbore was born in 1580; HAS BO92/3, Ledbury General Register.

<sup>309</sup> Davies was in dispute with both Elton and Edmund Skipp over the herbage at Stonie Hill which Richard Willison had bequeathed to the poor but which Elton and Skipp kept for their own use. At Star Chamber, Elton accused Davies of accepting a bribe in a burglary case and of spreading a libellous rhyme about the gentleman William Nurthen, never presented for Catholic offences. There are no overt religious accusations in the case; TNA E 134/3Jas1/East16; L. King, 'The Ledbury Scandal of 1606', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 53 (2005), pp. 41-50, 45-48; TNA STAC8/5/18, Elton v. Davies 1606. For Davies' dates as rector see HAS BO92/3, Ledbury General Register.

departure from Christ began to be more publicly revealed', and for being pleased 'to pluck my feet out of that general corruption wherein most ... were entangled'.<sup>310</sup> Before taking up the mastership of St Katherine's, Thornton had spent most of his time in Oxford where he was a fellow of Christ Church and twice Vice-Chancellor of the university, but he had also become a prebend at Hereford cathedral in 1573, and had clearly preached there (five Privy Councillors referred to his 'painful preaching' at the cathedral in 1581).<sup>311</sup> He is also on record as preaching twice at Mansell Gamage, in the Weobley deanery, in 1582: he may well, therefore, have preached at Ledbury.<sup>312</sup> Although seventy-one years old when he arrived, his memorial in Ledbury chancel noted that his 'outstanding generosity brought comfort to the poor' in the seventeen years that he lived there, and it is hard to imagine this generosity excluded sharing the faith that mattered so much to him. Another local Protestant presence was William St Barbe, who had been one of Thornton's circle at Christ Church and was rector of Eastnor, Ledbury's neighbouring parish, from 1591 until his death in 1619. Thornton and St Barbe must have remained close as Thornton was a beneficiary under St Barbe's will; St Barbe was also a friend of the evangelical Bishop Herbert Westfaling, whom both he and Thornton knew at Christ Church, and St Barbe wrote a poem in praise of Bishop Robert Bennet which was inscribed on Bennet's tomb and which lauded Bennet's love of the 'true religion'.<sup>313</sup> Perhaps it was St Barbe whose influence is reflected in some markedly Protestant will preambles which occur at Ledbury between 1591 and 1612. Twelve preambles were 'very Protestant', eight of them witnessed by a Henry Collis, who was particularly effusive in his own will: amongst much else, he wished to be buried 'without any great pomp or ringing, as the manner of many

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<sup>310</sup> J. Cooper, 'Thomas Thornton, William St Barbe and the church in Herefordshire, 1580-1630', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 61 (2013), pp. 27-39, p. 27.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>312</sup> HAS HD7/5/4 and HD7/5/5, Bishop Scory's visitation 1582.

<sup>313</sup> Cooper, 'Thomas Thornton, William St Barbe', pp. 30-31; F. M. Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions of the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (Hereford, 1881), pp. 6-7. St Barbe's poem included the lines: *Quam pia via fuit ... Testis erit verae Religionis* (what a holy life he led, a witness to the true religion).

hath been, but according to our late sovereign lady the queen's majesty's laws and injunctions and not otherwise'.<sup>314</sup>

As well as these Protestant will preambles, there was a remarkable change in the tenor of plebeian presentments to the ecclesiastical courts from Ledbury by the late 1610s. Although there were four straightforward presentments for not attending church in 1617, presentments in 1618 focussed on drunkenness and involvement in festive revelry: John Wildbore, the only man previously noted as a recusant (in 1605), was presented for playing his fiddle and for drunkenness and ribaldry; innkeeper Edward Hall, along with a shoemaker and a weaver, had not attended church but 'went out of the parish on the sabbath to other places with gun and drum both in the night to the disturbance of the king's subjects and profanation of the sabbath day in the morning', and Richard Tomkins was a 'lord of misrule' who had led others astray. In 1625 fourteen out eighteen people who did not receive communion had been swearing, drinking, playing cards at Widow Windoe's 'at the sign of the Bell', or 'suffering people to drinke' at their houses at evening prayer time.<sup>315</sup> The economic tide had begun to turn for Ledbury in 1617 when the English cloth industry was thrown into turmoil by the protectionist Cokayne experiment, and a crusade against public disorder may have been one of the responses to the town's problems.<sup>316</sup> It is possible too that Thomas Thornton, who did not die until 1629,

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<sup>314</sup> The wills are at the 'very Protestant' end of Litzenberger's Protestant classification; C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997), Appendix A. The full text of Collis' preamble reads that he bequeathed 'my soul to Almighty God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost whose blessed majesty be blessed and praised for evermore, who of his mere mercy and great goodness hath redeemed the same neither with gold nor silver but with the most glorious body of his only dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ my sweet saviour and redeemer once offered upon the cross, and his own precious blood shed once and for all for my ransom and all mankind and by this means only I hope; faithfully do believe to be one of the number of the saved souls to whom God will not impute their sins and wickedness, but take and accept them, for his well-beloved children for the righteousness of Jesus Christ his dear Son my Lord and blessed saviour. Amen I give and commit my frail body to the earth from whence it was taken to be buried in the churchyard of the parish church of Ledbury, as near to that place where the bodies of my children were buried as conveniently may be, without any great pomp or ringing, as the manner of many hath been, but according to our late sovereign lady the queen's majesty's laws and injunctions and not otherwise'. He was also careful to thank the 'goodness of my merciful God' for his 'talent of goods' which enabled him to leave goods and money 'to the profit of my Christian brothers and sisters'; HAS 9/3/21, The Will of Henry Collis of Ledbury 1603.

<sup>315</sup> HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625.

<sup>316</sup> Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town*, p. 47. William Cokayne became the first governor of the New Merchant Adventurers Company in 1615 and his action of withdrawing licences for the export of undyed and undressed

was behind the campaign.<sup>317</sup> He could have been one of those who combined an increasing emphasis on their own election by God with a desire to build a disciplined community that would be pleasing to Him. Thus, the church court records of Ledbury perhaps point to the sort of Puritan-led urban conflict of which, as Underdown showed, ‘examples can be culled from every part of England’?<sup>318</sup>

## Conclusions

Historians know Herefordshire as a religiously conservative county in the years after the Reformation, yet a ‘blanket association’ with the extreme of religious conservatism which was Catholicism would be misleading.<sup>319</sup> North and east of the Wye non-gentry Catholicism was weak, both in the rural parishes and in the market towns. Some Catholic gentry households seem to have operated as ‘private gardens’, with minimal impact on the lower status persons who lived nearby, and even seigneurial households of the sort described by Bossy did not sustain many non-gentry Catholics.<sup>320</sup> Gentry Catholics did have an influence – the correlations between gentry and non-gentry presentments testify to this. In some places, such as Bromyard, gentry patronage is visible, and there is evidence too that plebeians were influenced by priests who visited gentry. The congregations, however, were largely transient and most people presented for not attending church, not receiving the communion, or for recusancy, appear to have conformed quickly. There were few persistent non-gentry recusants, albeit some who showed considerable determination.

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cloth gave rise to a devastating trade crisis in England; V. Aldous, ‘Cokayne, Sir William (1559/60-1626)’, *ONDB* (online edn., January 2009).

<sup>317</sup> Pinches, *Ledbury, a market town*, p. 79.

<sup>318</sup> D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion, Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985), p. 54.

<sup>319</sup> The phrase ‘blanket association’ is in Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, p. 97.

<sup>320</sup> Rowlands, ‘Hidden People: Catholic Commoners, 1558-1625’, p. 28; Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 173-175.



There is little evidence for any recognisably ‘urban’ Catholicism in Herefordshire, apart from hints of small mutually supportive communities in Ledbury and Hereford. At Ledbury there may have been a little cell of plebeian Catholics at Homend, and in Hereford there was possibly a plebeian group which isolated itself from other citizens in the 1580s, although more credible is the evidence from the early 1600s for a Catholic community which included both gentry and non-gentry members and which extended across the city of Hereford and beyond.

The ‘greate backslyding in Religion’ was located, as far as non-gentry Catholics were concerned and as Justice Lewkenor recognised, in ‘the skyrtes of the sheeres of Wales’ which bordered on ‘Monmouthsheere and Herefordsheere’.<sup>321</sup> It was here, particularly in the swathe of parishes from Tibberton to Llanrothal and Welsh Newton, that most plebeians were presented to the church courts for recusancy and other Catholic offences; where most persisted in their outward adherence to Catholicism; where Catholicism tended to run through families and extend across a wide social base, and where non-gentry Catholics took part in Catholic masses and rites of passage and took on leadership roles. This ‘peasant-based’ culture, akin to that found by Sheils in parts of Egton chapelry, however, was not the whole picture. The overlordship of the crypto-Catholic Earl of Worcester was no doubt crucial; some non-gentry Catholics were probably influenced by landlords; many attended masses in houses owned by gentry, and minor gentry had some authority in the Whitsun riots of 1605. The deliberate missions to the poor of both seminary priest Roger Cadwallador and the Jesuits were also of key importance. These dedicated priests, nonetheless, nourished an existing independent Welsh culture in an area which had roots in the British kingdom of Eryng and which was predisposed to Catholicism.

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<sup>321</sup> TNA CP 89/35, Justice R. Lewkenor to Sir Robert Cecil. Ludlow: 1601, Oct. 31, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 1102, State Papers online.

## CHAPTER FOUR: 'GETTING ALONG'? TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE IN HEREFORDSHIRE c.1580-1640

Historians studying early modern Europe have noted that even where there was no legal provision for 'toleration' of religion, 'coexistence on the ground could often be surprisingly lasting and successful'.<sup>1</sup> Detailed work in England has suggested that here, too, it was the 'language of neighbourliness and commonality rather than that of religion and difference' that prevailed at the local level during the religious upheavals of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries. The imperative, in Sheils' phrase, if one were to 'get on', was to 'get along'.<sup>2</sup> This was a pragmatic approach to life, born of the need to balance the claims of religion with those of family, society and economics, but it grew also out of the deep-seated moral tradition of European society 'to sustain the charitable community'.<sup>3</sup> It operated from both sides, Catholics avoiding confrontation with their neighbours by such actions as witnessing wills, practising hospitality, paying their tithes and using Protestant services for the rites of passage, and Protestants reciprocating with 'gestures of goodwill'.<sup>4</sup>

However, such tolerance was not the twenty-first century notion of mutual acceptance of differing beliefs but a decision 'to endure or suffer things of which one strongly disapproved', a matter-of-fact and often grudging solution to the reality of different confessions.<sup>5</sup> Walsham, in particular, has shown how tolerance lived side-by-side with intolerance: this was the Augustinian notion of charitable hatred, 'two behaviours spawned from the same set of assumptions ... in a state of permanent tension'.<sup>6</sup> Thus, for Protestants, Catholic belief was sinful wrong-thinking which would incur divine displeasure if not rooted

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<sup>1</sup> J. Pollman, 'Review of Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700 by A. Walsham', *History Workshop Journal*, 64 (2007), pp. 419-424, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Sheils, 'Getting on and getting along', p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Lewycky and Morton, 'Introduction', p. 20; Sheils, 'Household, Age and Gender among Jacobean Yorkshire Recusants', p. 142

<sup>4</sup> Lewycky and Morton, 'Introduction', pp. 6-10; Walsham, 'England's Nicodemites', pp. 95-97.

<sup>5</sup> Lewycky and Morton, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9; A. Walsham, 'Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England: History, Literature and Religious Toleration', *The Seventeenth Century*, 28 (2013), pp. 115-137, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Lewycky and Morton, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9.

out.<sup>7</sup> At times Catholics became the ‘deviant other’, scapegoats who could be turned upon with serious consequences, as at Blackfriars in 1623 when, following the collapse of the attic where Catholics had assembled for worship, the injured were attacked by a violent crowd.<sup>8</sup> Such bursts of persecution were particularly virulent at times of national crisis, whether these were real or imagined: it was during such breakdowns that the language of religion – intolerance – was used.<sup>9</sup>

What evidence is there of ‘getting along’ and not ‘getting along’ in Herefordshire in the period between 1580 and the Civil War? What strategies of ‘negotiation, adaptation and connivance’ did Catholics and their Protestant neighbours use to reconcile adherence to illegal practices with the claims of society?<sup>10</sup> Catholic hopes of toleration, which had developed as Elizabeth aged and were encouraged by James on his first coming to power, provoked the Whitsun riots in 1605. Were other tensions manifest prior to or after this? Were there also incidents of lesser violence such as squabbling and harassment?<sup>11</sup> On one occasion in 1607 in the bi-confessional town of Biberach in Germany where Catholics and Protestants shared space for their different services, a Catholic priest distracted Protestant worshippers with his running about, chattering and rude gestures, and when he repeated the performance the next day several men seized, punched and threw him out of the building. They were later gaoled. In Biberach such conflicts were frequent but remained limited in scope - the preferred solution was to opt for neighbourly virtues.<sup>12</sup> Were neighbourly virtues the preferred solution in Herefordshire? And can anything be said about the mechanisms by which relatively peaceful living descended into antagonism or violence, or, conversely, how

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<sup>7</sup> Sheils, ‘Getting on and getting along’, pp. 80-81; Walsham, ‘England’s Nicodemites’, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Walsham, ‘England’s Nicodemites’, p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> Sheils, ‘Getting on and getting along’, pp. 80-81.

<sup>10</sup> Lewycky and Morton, ‘Introduction’, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Walsham, ‘Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England’, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> B. J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith, Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2007), pp. 214-215.

such episodes were stabilised, a current challenge, Walsham has suggested, which faces historians?<sup>13</sup>

With such ideas in mind this chapter looks first at the evidence for different types of inter-confessional tension in Herefordshire. The evidence for ‘getting along’ is then considered and its character assessed. Several records give useful glimpses of inter-confessional relationships in the county, but for Madley, one of the parishes in the Whitsun riots area, the survival of a parish register from 1538 to 1638 and of detailed churchwardens’ accounts from 1564 to 1642 justifies a separate scrutiny.<sup>14</sup> The chapter therefore ends with a section about this parish.

### **Inter-confessional tension**

The inter-confessional tensions around the time of James I’s succession, when Catholics hoped for a ‘tolleration’, have been discussed in the analysis of the Whitsun riots in chapter one of this study. Catholics were proactive at this time. They campaigned against the new bishop, Robert Bennet, with ‘libels and contumelies of all kinds’, probably joined in sending a petition to the king via the priest George Williams and passed letters between themselves. They must have been active proselytisers too. Given the several ‘seducers to popery’ presented to the ecclesiastical court which followed the riots, and the vicar of Eaton Bishop’s statement that the priest George Williams had persuaded eighteen people to ‘withdraw’ from his church since James came to the throne, some of the ‘incredible increase’ in the number of recusants between 1602 and 1605, claimed by Bennet, can be presumed to have been down to their evangelical activity.<sup>15</sup> And of course they also took part in the riots, coming from at

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<sup>13</sup> Walsham, ‘Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England’, p. 124.

<sup>14</sup> HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>15</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online; TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 13 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most*

least fifteen different Herefordshire parishes.<sup>16</sup> They were prepared to rise before dawn to kneel at the sites of the old crosses en route to Ales Wellington's burial in the churchyard at Allensmore, to arm themselves and hurriedly join the rescue of weaver Leonard Marsh who had been apprehended by the high constable's party, to 'watch all night' in the woods in response to the call to ambush Justices of the Peace who were seeking to arrest Mr William Morgan, or to 'bringe some weapon' and gather on Llanrothal bridge, ready to defend the Darren at the bidding of the Jesuit Robert Jones.<sup>17</sup> Even allowing for widespread sympathy for Catholicism in their communities, there must have been many with whom these more determined people quarrelled over their preparedness to take such actions. High constable George Wenlond, constable William Rogers and 'master' William Gough, who went to make the first arrest after Ales Wellington's funeral, were obviously at odds with their Catholic neighbours, and they successfully gathered fifteen or sixteen men ready to support them when, having failed to apprehend Cowle, they marched their prisoner Leonard Marsh to Hereford.<sup>18</sup> The bishop believed, too, that the Catholics had done more than campaign and

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*Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 525, State Papers online; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary priest; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. The 'seducers to popery' named in 1605 were Mr William Hawkins of Stretford, Mr Charles Borne and his wife Anna of Madley, Thomas Preece of Madley, Margaret Watkins of Welsh Newton and John Smith of Kilpeck; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>16</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-269, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. The parishes were Stretton, Eaton Bishop, Madley, Kingstone, Allensmore, Thruxton, Treville, Abbey Dore, Wormebridge, St Devereux and Kilpeck in the northern riot area, and Garway, Llanrothal, Llangarren and Welsh Newton in the Cwm/Darren area; people from the Monmouthshire parishes of Skenfrith, St Maughan's, Llangattock-Vipon-Avell and Rockfield also participated. However, not everyone named as taking part in the riots can be located by parish. See Map IV, Chapter One, p.33.

<sup>17</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-269, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>18</sup> Hamond, *The Late Commotion*. There were Wenlonds in Allensmore and Madley; a George Wenlond of Allensmore paid 40s. in a subsidy in 1621 and in 1628. William Rogers may have been the William Rogers of Allensmore who paid 20s. in the 1594 lay subsidy or the William Rogers of Madley who left a Protestant will in 1615; 'master' William Gough may have been the son of Mr Thomas and Joan Gough of Madley, born in 1580, and who appeared in an Acts of Instance case aged 14 in 1593; TNA E 179/119/395, Lay Subsidy Webtree 1594; TNA E 179/118/426, Lay Subsidy Webtree September 1621; TNA E 179/119/662, Lay Subsidy Webtree July 1628; TNA prob/11/127, The Will of William Rogers of Madley 1615; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595.

riot: they had been regularly bullying conforming members of society. Recusants, he said, had ‘grown to boldness to take up weapons ... and they that will not consort with them cannot possess their goods in quiet’.<sup>19</sup> He made this claim in the anxious days of the Whitsun riots and may have exaggerated, but no doubt many were indeed antagonised by the riots, even if not deliberately intimidated by the rioters. Jesuit Robert Persons’ pronouncement, also, made in 1607 with his own audience in mind, that the local inhabitants had been ‘greatly alarmed ... although generally well inclined towards the Catholic religion’ should not be dismissed.<sup>20</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of the Whitsun riots some Catholics seem to have become more circumspect. Gentleman John Phillips of Much Dewchurch, presented for not receiving the communion in 1605, vehemently denied the accusation against him that he had harboured recusants and ‘entertained some dangerous persons’ in his house around the time of the riots.<sup>21</sup> At Eaton Bishop the eighteen Catholics persuaded from the church by the priest George Williams ‘reform(ed) themselves all vol’ntarily savinge twoo’, and the bishop’s man, Paul Delahay, claimed that only ‘the tenth part’ of over 1,000 recusants in the county were ‘left for the pope’.<sup>22</sup> In 1620, however, Epiphanus Haworth esquire, ‘of the moore within the city of Hereford’ and seized of the tithes of Kilpeck, stated in Star Chamber that Catholics and non-Catholics in the Archenfield area had seriously failed to ‘get along’ in the years after the Whitsun riots.<sup>23</sup> Echoing Bennet’s declaration of 1605, Haworth asserted that various

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<sup>19</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 13 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 525, State Papers online.

<sup>20</sup> Stoneyhurst, Father Greene MSS, Extract from the Treatise on Mitigation by Robert Parsons 1 March 1607, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, p. 452. Persons claimed in this extract that the Whitsun riots had been ‘fomented by the treacherous designs of a certain Catholic acting under the instigation of the heretics who sought to make the Catholics more odious and to furnish a pretext for persecuting them’.

<sup>21</sup> TNA STAC 8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 4 James.

<sup>22</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary priest.

<sup>23</sup> Epiphanus Haworth was identified as ‘of the moore’ in Hereford in TNA STAC 8/207/30, Morgan v. Morgan 1605. He was the eldest son of Humphrey Hawkworth of Hereford, attorney in the Council of the Marches, and Anna daughter of Thomas Berrington and married Blanche, daughter of Griffith John in 1590; BL Hargrave MS 193, A folio volume of collections relating to the deanery of Hereford, the Visitation of 1586. In 1604 Haworth was the ‘stranger’ and elected commissioner of Protestant Sir William Morgan of Machen in a case against Catholic Sir Edward Morgan of Llantarnam. Also in 1604 Haworth was the general collector for Webtree; he

‘notorious and convicted recusants’ had ‘for diverse years past ... lived as authors of tumultes and outrages to the greate grevannces of your majesty’s peaceable subiects’. Specifically, he named fifteen men and one woman, ‘all or most of whom ... have not received the sacred communion theese seaven years nor been at any church or chappell to heere devine servise’, who had ‘marrche(d) in and throughe the fields of Kilpeck’ armed with all sorts of weapons, including a burning torch, and assaulted his servants while they endeavoured to gather up the the tithes of corn set out ready in the fields.<sup>24</sup>

Extravagant rhetoric was consistent with Star Chamber practice where both plaintiff and defendant aimed to paint their opponent in the worst possible light, but allegations nonetheless needed to be credible, and Haworth would have been conscious that any witnesses he called would be expected to corroborate his claims.<sup>25</sup> Haworth was able to prove his right to the tithes because he had a ‘verification’ from the Council in the Marches of Wales, and he also had a Quarter Sessions indictment with the names of those responsible for ‘riotous and forcible entry’ into his fields. His allegation that the offenders who were apparently terrorising the neighbourhood were all notorious recusants, also, seems to have been more than mere colour added to his bill to stir his listeners’ fear of the Catholic menace.<sup>26</sup> Even four hundred years after the event it is possible to identify as Catholics four, maybe five, of the sixteen on Haworth’s list, and two more as probable church papists.<sup>27</sup>

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paid subsidies at Vowchurch in 1621 and 1628, and was referred to as ‘of the Whitehouse’ in Vowchurch in 1633, the same year he was churchwarden there; BL Add MSS 11051, Scudamore Papers XI; TNA E 179/118/404, Lay Subsidy Webtree 1604; TNA E 179/119/481, Lay Subsidy Webtree 1621; TNA E 179/119/662, Lay Subsidy Webtree July 1628. His lands and tenements at Much Dewchurch were referred to in TNA STAC 8/181/31, Phillips v. Haworth 1607. Haworth was dubbed a gentleman until 1620, after which he was styled esquire.

<sup>24</sup> TNA STAC 8/174/20, Haworth v. Phillips 1620.

<sup>25</sup> Star Chamber narratives are similar in their need for verisimilitude to the stories told by men and women seeking pardon for murder in sixteenth-century France, where the tellers would also have been conscious that witnesses would be called to corroborate their claims; N. Z. Davies, *Fiction in the Archives, Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Stanford, 1987), p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> TNA STAC 8/174/20, Haworth v. Phillips 1620; C. Z. Wiener, ‘The Beleaguered Isle; a study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism’, *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), pp. 27-62, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> TNA STAC 8/174/20, Haworth v. Phillips 1620. Rice ap Rice and his wife Mary, of Kilpeck, were presented as recusants over a long period, Rice from 1598 to 1642 and Mary from 1605 to 1642, and both took part in the Whitsun riots in 1605, Rice playing a prominent role; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1597-1598 to HAS

Haworth declared that the band of recusants had been ‘procured’ by Mr James Phillips from Kilpeck’s neighbouring parish of Much Dewchurch, adding that behind the attack were ‘ancient and malicious displeasures.’<sup>28</sup> Haworth’s main concern was doubtless his right to the Kilpeck tithes, but the reference to old quarrels perhaps points to another Catholic dimension to this case. James was most probably the eldest son of John Phillips, mentioned above, and his wife Catherine.<sup>29</sup> In addition to John’s recusancy in 1605, Catherine had been presented as a recusant from 1598 to just before the time of her death in 1612.<sup>30</sup> The ‘ancient displeasures’, therefore, may have been a reference to a Star Chamber case from 1607 – a case brought by Haworth against John Phillips in which Haworth had dragged up the accusation he and his wife harboured priests.<sup>31</sup> It is, of course, a tenuous link, and there is no direct accusation in the 1620 case that James Phillips was himself a Catholic. Haworth claimed too, however, that Phillips had persuaded Mr Edward Morgan of Arkeston, another man with a probable Catholic pedigree, to ‘add more strength by great multitude’ to the original troublemakers.<sup>32</sup>

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HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642. Thomas John of Garway was a ‘stark comer’ to church in 1619; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619. Morgan John Harry of Garway was a landlord suspected by the bishop of Catholic allegiance in 1616; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop’s Register. Thomas and James Baskerville, gentlemen of Kentchurch, although not named as recusants, were members of a well-known Catholic family – Baskervilles of Pontrilas in Kentchurch were presented to the church courts from 1586 to 1616: Thomas and James may well have been church papists; HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587 to HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617. Four of the men in Haworth’s list were from Monmouthshire, for which there are no church court records; none is listed in the recusant rolls for Monmouthshire, but Harbart Evans of Llangattock-Vibon-Abel was named as a son of Hugh Evans in the *Llfyr Baglan*, compiled between 1600 and 1607 by a John Williams who had a special interest in Catholic families of Wales and Eryng (Archenfield), so was arguably Catholic; Pugh, ‘Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I’, pp. 69-107; Bradney, *Llyfr Baglan*.

<sup>28</sup> TNA STAC 8/174/20, Haworth v. Phillips 1620.

<sup>29</sup> James Phillips, gentleman of Much Dewchurch, was the executor for John Phillips’ will in 1616, and therefore perhaps the eldest son of John and Catherine Phillips, although he does not appear in the parish register, unlike twelve other children of John and Catherine; John and Catherine were married in 1589 and the first child to appear in the register was in 1591; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; HAS AJ25/1, Much Dewchurch parish register 1558-1745.

<sup>30</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599 to HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610; HAS AJ25/1, Much Dewchurch parish register 1558-1745.

<sup>31</sup> TNA STAC 8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanius Haworth 4 James.

<sup>32</sup> TNA STAC 8/174/20, Haworth v. Phillips 1620. Edward Morgan of Arkeston was presented to the church courts in 1625 by the churchwardens of neighbouring Kingstone for not receiving the communion; he is likely to have been related to the William Morgan of Treville who took part in the Whitsun riots and to Charles Morgan of Arkestone, church papist Justice of the Peace; TNA SP/14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.



All this makes it look as if Epiphanus Haworth's emphasis of the role of the 'notorious and convicted recusants' was a device to vilify his opponents. The idea that bands of recusants were terrorising the area over a period of years is anyway questionable: a serious problem would surely have alerted the authorities at national level and left a trace, as, for example, did the various assaults perpetrated by recusants in Lancashire between 1598 and 1604 which appear in the records of the Privy Council and of the Earl of Salisbury.<sup>33</sup>

Nonetheless, three further Star Chamber cases point to this sort of problem in Herefordshire and warrant scrutiny.<sup>34</sup> One of the cases, Mrs Amy Cavendishe versus John Baguley, the decidedly Protestant vicar of Kentchurch, was unmistakably fuelled by confessional tensions.<sup>35</sup> Amy Cavendishe was the former wife of recusant John Scudamore of Kentchurch, and had entered the bill against Baguley because, she said, he had published libels against her and her steward which insinuated that they were Catholics.<sup>36</sup> Baguley, in turn, alleged that Catholics had attacked his servants at harvest in the fields, knocked pails of milk from the heads of his milkmaids, waylaid and beaten him when he was on his way to Hereford, and 'did breake, cutt down and scatter' a pew he had built for his wife, 'cast(ing) it

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<sup>33</sup> There were no mentions of affrays linked to recusancy in the State Papers Domestic or in Council in the Marches cases; see, for example, C. A. J. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (London, 1904), pp. 150, 154-5. In Lancashire assaults reported to the Privy Council included an assault at Prescott in 1598, at Childwall, Garstang and Preston in 1600 and at Poulton in 1604; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, pp. 327-329.

<sup>34</sup> Not all the Star Chamber cases for the period 1580 to 1640 have been examined. Relevant early Stuart cases were chosen by searching Barnes' Index and selecting Herefordshire cases with religion in the index and/or with the names of known Catholics as plaintiff or defendant. Elizabethan cases have not yet been indexed by location at the National Archives, and those cited were found via references in other work. T. G. Barnes (editor and compiler), *List and Index to the Proceedings in Star Chamber for the reign of James I, 1603-1625* (American Bar Foundation, 1975). I am grateful to Richard Cust for the loan of a copy of this index.

<sup>35</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619.

<sup>36</sup> Amy Cavendishe had been the wife of John Scudamore until his death in 1616. She claimed in the Star Chamber case that she 'had withdrawn from popery and bidden it farewell xxxtie years before his majesty's 10<sup>th</sup> year' (ie 1583), but her record does not entirely support this, as her father-in-law Thomas Scudamore claimed that she had been the means by which his son John Scudamore had been brought into contact with the Catholic traitor William Watson in 1603. However, she was only presented to the church courts once, in 1605, for not receiving the communion, when she certified reception. In 1616 the bishop suspected she was a Catholic as he listed her Catholic tenants in his register. Amy Scudamore's steward, Richard Mynors, was probably a church papist like his mistress. His wife Margaret was a recusant from 1603 to 1613 and 'sojourning' with recusant Lewis Watkins in 1616; Richard was named a recusant in 1616; TNA SP 14/3, f. 8, Thomas Scudamore to Sir William Waad 3 August 1603; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1602-1603; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop's Register.

out of the church in most odious ... manner'. However, Baguley was able to name only a handful of attackers: four 'very notorious recusants' who destroyed the pew (all four are on record as persistent recusants) and two, Amy Scudamore's servants, who assaulted the milkmaids. Baguley also said that one of the notorious recusants, another of Amy Scudamore's servants, was the man who accosted him on the way to Hereford.<sup>37</sup> Accusation and counter-accusation make it impossible to be sure exactly what occurred, but clearly none of the attacks was carried out by a marauding band of recusants. The incidents which can be verified, however, certainly reveal recusants at Garway and Kentchurch who were not 'getting along' with their Church of England neighbours over several years. Both Cavendishe and Baguley attested to a fight between their respective servants in the fields in 1616 and noted the incident had gone to Quarter Sessions, and both agreed about libels which had been 'oftentimes unlawfully read, sung and published ... and diverse coppies thereof scattered in Kentchurch' in the year prior to the Star Chamber case. Katherine Pigge, Amy Scudamore's servant, accused of 'openly cursing the whole Congregation of Kentchurch and praying that the pockes of god might take them all', had indeed been presented to the ecclesiastical courts in 1618 as a scold and curser of her neighbours: they were gossiping that she was wont to 'rise out of her bed in her smock about tenn of the clock in the night and let Richard Mynors (Amy Scudamore's steward) in at the gates of the courte of Kentchurch ... and goe with him into a butterie to drink'.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The 'very notorious recusants' were Nicholas Williams and Henry Farmer of Kentchurch, and John Williams and Richard Pigge of Garway. Nicholas Williams, tailor, buried Margaret Gache in 1600 and was a recusant in 1603 and 1605; he was harboured by a Catholic in 1605 and himself harboured recusants and consorted with them in 1608 and 1613. Henry Farmer alias Tailor was presented for not receiving the communion in 1595, for burying his wife and children without a minister in 1598, as a recusant in 1603, 1609, 1611, 1613, and for attending a Catholic burial in Garway in 1614. John Williams was named as a recusant from 1598 to 1611. Richard Pigge is not in the ecclesiastical courts records as a recusant but he was noted as a servant of Amy Scudamore speaking against Baguley in church in 1602, at which time he 'stood excommunicate'; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610; HAS HD4/1/168, Acts of Office 1611; HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>38</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1617-1618.

A second case, in June 1605, on the other hand, possibly did involve something akin to a marauding band. Phillip Williams of Wormebridge asserted that gentleman Thomas Parry had ‘many disordered persons at his command ready to mischief and oppose themselves against such to whom Parry is not well-affected’, and that on 24 September 1604 these people broke down his door and dragged him and his family outside, ready to ‘murder’ them if others had not come to the rescue.<sup>39</sup> The case is particularly interesting not only because Thomas Parry was named as a recusant in 1605 but also because he and some others in the group took part a few months later in the Whitsun riots – Parry and three other men were at the Treville ambush, and Thomas ap Pricharde of Abbey Dore was to be one of the leaders of the riots.<sup>40</sup> Parry’s servant, nine people who had been presented to the church courts for Catholic offences, two who were sons of those presented, and another eight who, judging from their surnames, might reasonably be suspected of Catholic leanings, were also part of the group who allegedly assaulted Phillip Williams.<sup>41</sup> Williams’ landlord was Rowland Vaughan of the nearby parish of Vowchurch, one of the Justices of the Peace who in 1603 had helped to capture the priest William Watson, organiser of the Bye Plot, and who in 1605 had joined the bishop’s party to search the borders for priests after the Whitsun riots, both of which actions point to Protestant credentials, thus also hinting of an element of

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<sup>39</sup> TNA STAC 8/304/35; Williams v. Parry, Quarrell et al. 30 June 1606.

<sup>40</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>41</sup> Those presented for recusancy were Henry Quarrell (1586-1605) and his son William (1586-1605) of Wormebridge; for not receiving the communion in 1605 were Jacob Quarrell son of Henry, John Quarrell, Thomas Quarrell, Lewis Gunter, gentleman, and Jane Parry wife of Thomas, of Wormebridge; Lewis Gwillim of Wormebridge and his son William, were presented for not frequenting church in 1586 and 1619 respectively. Thomas Quarrell and James Quarrell, also, were both carrying arms at the Treville ambush, as was Hugh Webbe, another man in Parry’s party. John Webbe, son of Hugh, and Roger Quarrell, son of Henry (above) was in the party, as were four others with the surname Quarrell, four with the surname Parry, and Christopher servant of Thomas Parry, making twenty-three out of twenty-eight named by Williams, in addition to Thomas Parry and Thomas ap Pricharde, who can be identified as Catholic or who had probable Catholic leanings; HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1605; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619.

Catholic versus Protestant in the Williams v. Parry case.<sup>42</sup> Yet it would be naive to place too much emphasis on the case's being only a clash over religion. Like Haworth's conflict with James Phillips, economic interests were at the root of events: Parry, Williams said, had 'often sought to overthrow his estate and gain certain lands and tenements'.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, a Star Chamber case in 1596 had also involved Thomas Parry of Wormebridge, similarly in a dispute over land, but this time with recusant Mr James Garnons of St Devereux.<sup>44</sup> In 1596 it was Garnons who allegedly harrassed Parry, his co-religionist, organising a mob to chase Parry's cattle from a meadow, cut his hay and go to his house threatening to beat up him and his wife.<sup>45</sup> Catholic, in other words, not 'getting along' with Catholic.

Nonetheless, it would not be entirely surprising if Catholics helped each other when someone's livelihood was threatened. There are examples, cited in chapter three, of Catholics supporting one another in various ways in the Archenfield area: harbouring each other in their houses, serving as schoolteachers and midwives, praying together on beads and assuming different leadership roles. The sample of Catholic wills, discussed later in this chapter, also hints at a bias towards mutual support. Mutual support was an ingredient, too, in a third Star Chamber case, troubles around 1606 involving a Catholic-led group at Bosbury, in Frome deanery.<sup>46</sup> The 'men of dissolute behaviour and lewd carriage' in this instance were the recusants Thomas Farley and his son George. This pair assembled a group of people, which included at least three other recusants, in order to rescue Thomas' brother-in-law, Richard Tyler, also a recusant, put into the stocks by the local constables. The constables, Thomas Bartley and John Allen, brought the case because Tyler had resisted their

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<sup>42</sup> I am grateful to Sue Hubbard for this information from a draft of a book by the Golden Valley History Group; now published as, *The Man Who Drowned the Meadows: Rowland Vaughan 1558-1627* (Almeley, 2016); TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>43</sup> TNA STAC 8/304/35; Williams v. Parry, Quarrell et al. 30 June 1606.

<sup>44</sup> James Garnons, gentleman, of St Devereux, presented as a recusant in 1598 and 1600; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602.

<sup>45</sup> I am grateful to Sue Hubbard for the reference to and summary of TNA STAC 5/V6/40, Rowland Vaughan v. James Garnons and others 1596- 1597.

<sup>46</sup> TNA STAC 8/53/21, Bartley v. Tyler May 1606.

attempts to arrest him for outlawry.<sup>47</sup> Witness statements give details of Farley's party using hatchets, hammers and iron chisels to open up the stocks and of a violent fight between them and the constables which also involved a bystander. There is mention, too, of an earlier fight initiated by the Farleys and Tyler over Tyler's claim to a croft, which gives credence to Justice of the Peace John Kyrle's declaration in this later case that he had 'sent many warrants against Farley on the complaints of his neighbours for sundry misdemeanours'. Perhaps, on the basis of Kyrle's statement, Farley's party can be said to have constituted a terrorising band of recusants in their local area. Certainly, the turbulent events around them are another example of groups of Catholics not 'getting along' in their neighbourhood to place alongside those that have been described at Kilpeck, Kentchurch and perhaps at Wormebridge.

Other break-downs in relationships between Catholics and their neighbours in Herefordshire reached the local ecclesiastical courts. A long quarrel at Norton in 1608 and another at Pembridge in the second half of the 1630s must have posed severe challenges to neighbourliness. The incident at Norton seems to have been a prolonged wrangle between the vicar and a handful of his Catholically inclined parishioners.<sup>48</sup> Churchwarden Adam Impton was accused by the vicar for not presenting an unlicensed schoolmaster, for not presenting John Howld, who had shouted at the vicar in the churchyard, or Richard Collie who had disturbed communion on Easter day. Impton also 'wilfully refused' to tell the court that, just after Christmas, John Blackpath had called the vicar a 'lowsy paltry baggage priest' while he himself stood by watching. Impton was mentioned again at the next court, with

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<sup>47</sup> Thomas Weale alias Farley and his wife Elizabeth were cited as recusants from 1602 to 1613; their son George was a recusant between 1605 and 1617; Richard Tyler and his wife Elizabeth were recusants from 1605 to 1609. Also in the party summoned by Farley were Jone Pitt and gentleman William Unett, both presented as recusants in 1605, and three other people in the group not named in the church court record for Catholic offences; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602 to HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1617-1618. William Unett was one of the sons of Jane Unett of Castle Frome; Jane and her sons were said by the Bishop of Hereford to be 'corrupted recusants' in 1609; TNA SP 14/48, f. 187, List of recusants sent to the Privy Council by the Bishop of Hereford 27 October 1609.

<sup>48</sup> Cases of insult to the clergy rarely involved large numbers of parishioners; Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 110.

some of those he had shielded, because he had not sent his children for catechism and had been shooting on the Sabbath. Six months later Richard Collie again caused trouble by ringing the bell continuously at a funeral while the minister was reading the ‘divine service appointed’, and another man, Thomas Donn, ‘abused the minister before the parishioners’. Each of these men was presented to the court by the vicar. They retaliated the following year, and themselves presented the vicar, alleging that he was unable to say his catechism and, curiously, had ‘put up Cheeses in the church’.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps they saw this as a desecration of a holy space. An eight-year silence followed in the church court record, but discord probably bubbled beneath the surface, rearing its head again in 1616 when the schoolmaster whom Impton had not presented in 1608 offered to fight the vicar in the churchyard over his failure to send his fourteen-year old son for catechism.<sup>50</sup>

The dispute at Pembridge involved two gentlemen, John Hall and Jacob Hall.<sup>51</sup> John had been presented as a recusant from 1605 to 1626, Jacob was a recusant in 1613, and his wife from 1613 to 1621.<sup>52</sup> By the time of the case in 1636 they may have been attending services but both nonetheless showed their contempt for the church by ‘defil(ing) the holy ground’. Perhaps primarily with an eye to profit, John ‘built up a goose-cubbe with a sinke whereby the filthiness’ drained into the churchyard, and Jacob leased out ‘certen tenements bordering on the churchyard’ and filled them ‘with beggarly people, (with) all filthynes and excrement’ running onto ‘the sacred ground’.<sup>53</sup>

No reasons were given for most of the grumblings about the vicar or churchwardens which were presented to the church courts in Herefordshire, but, when a reason is indicated, it

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<sup>49</sup> HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609.

<sup>50</sup> HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617.

<sup>51</sup> HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637. From their surnames, these two men were likely to have been related, but no records have been found which confirm this.

<sup>52</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627.

<sup>53</sup> HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639. That landlords were leasing out tenements to poor people was a concern of the Privy Council in 1598; Alexander Strange, vicar of Layston in Hertfordshire made the point in a draft sermon that this was happening, with an unfortunate knock-on effect on poor relief, in 1636; S. Hindle and H. Falvey (eds.), ‘This Little Commonwealth: Layston Parish Memorandum Book, 1607-c.1650 & 1704-c.1747’, *Hertfordshire Record Society* (2003), p. xxxii.

is often probable that the focus was Catholicism. The parishioners presenting such offences were not willing to ‘get along’ with neighbours who exhibited these deviant behaviours. Thus, the wardens of Peterchurch were severely annoyed in 1611 when Catherine Smith, servant of Richard Parry, gentleman and himself ‘a contemner of ... the sacraments’, ‘abused the sacrament saying she was almost choked with a crust’. They protested that ‘we had administered the fairest bread we could’.<sup>54</sup> At Ross in 1619 the churchwardens were unhappy with Roger Philpotts ‘for mocking at the rector on Easter day and saying to those that were his company take this, take this, have to thee, have to thee’.<sup>55</sup> Philpotts may, of course, have held a personal grudge against the rector or merely disliked his manner, and there is no evidence in the church court records that he was a church papist, but his disparaging imitation suggests he thought the rector unworthy of administering the sacrament. Unlike a Catholic priest, the rector did not have God-given access to the mystery of the sacrament, the power to transform the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ.<sup>56</sup> He, Philpotts, the mockery implies, was just as capable of saying ‘take this, have to thee’. The Ross parishioners certainly considered that Philpotts’ mockery was a very serious matter because he was unable to procure the support of six compurgators to speak on his behalf.<sup>57</sup>

A consistory church court entry of 1613 concerning Robert Tetlowe, schoolmaster at Much Dewchurch, elucidates the thinking behind such protests, as well as revealing some of the resulting tension in the parish. Tetlowe had said in the hearing of the vicar and others that he would ‘mainetayene the realle corporall pr’sens in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper against any man’. Drawing a book from his bosom, he declared that he had ‘all the counsels

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<sup>54</sup> HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612.

<sup>55</sup> HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619.

<sup>56</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>57</sup> HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619. A compurgator was an ‘honest neighbour’ of the same sex and social standing as the accused, who was prepared to swear in court that the charges were unfounded; objections to compurgation were also invited, as an extra guarantee of the compurgators’ truthfulness; when no compurgators were forthcoming, the accused was proclaimed guilty; Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 51-52.

since the Apostles tyme to prove it'. A neighbour and fellow parishioner, Walter James, perhaps trying to bring Tetlowe back into the church fold, 'tould him it were fittinge he should be obedient to the king's law', but Tetlowe refused to change his view. The vicar, Mr Walter Williams, also tried to persuade Tetlowe to conform, as well as 'in freindelic manner entreating (divers of his scholers in poperie) to come to church', but Tetlowe 'answered he would not force any of their consciences for that their parents were his friends'. The concern about Tetlowe was such that the bishop issued a warrant for his arrest, whereat Tetlowe 'fled to Pembridge Castle' ten miles away in Welsh Newton, and mostly likely home to the gentry Catholic Kemble family.<sup>58</sup>

It was not only the eucharist service that was a bone of contention. In 1611, minor gentleman Edward Broughton of Canon Pyon, who had been excommunicated for not receiving the holy communion two years earlier, 'made a great noise in the churchyard at the time of a christening', along with his servant, and they refused to 'speak softer' when the vicar sent the clerk to admonish them.<sup>59</sup> In 1613 Alice Fletcher of Welsh Newton was presented for her contemptuous attitude, saying she said that she would 'as willingly heare a dogge barke as to heare the priest read divine service', and, adding insult to injury, declared herself unwilling to give thanks in prayer 'for his majesty's gracious deliverance ... on the king's holidiaie last' despite exhortation to do so 'in speeches made'. Underlining her desire

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<sup>58</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614. Gentry Kembles were recusants at Welsh Newton between 1604 and 1642 and were probably tenants of Pembridge Castle in the parish. The priest John Kemble was sent to Pembridge Castle in Welsh Newton in 1625, and was later arrested there, in 1679. TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury, 22 June 1605; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1631-1632; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642; J. W. Leigh, 'The Kemble family', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1900), pp. 14-16, p. 14 Hodgetts, *Marches*.

<sup>59</sup> HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613. There was further trouble around Broughton which reached Star Chamber in both 1607 and 1610, although there is no indication of religious ingredients in the disputes: Broughton claimed that he had been harrassed by unfriendly neighbours, once for 'needless cause' and once because his stepdaughter wished to marry a man whom he thought unsuitable. He made a nuisance of himself again as far as the parish was concerned by sending his servants to gather crops on the Sabbath one day in 1620, and he was excommunicated for not receiving the communion in 1626; TNA STAC 8/61/32, Broughton v. Ashby 1607; TNA STAC 8/68/23, Broughton v Berrington: forcible entry at Canon Pyon 1610; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630.



for a return to Catholicism, she asserted she would rather say prayers ‘to turne his herte’.<sup>60</sup> Savaker Freeman of Stretton Grandison took a similar line when he refused to attend the sermon on 5 November 1617. He also scorned the eminent visiting preacher, Dr Richardson, one of the men who, with the bishop, had tried to persuade Roger Cadwallador to take the oath of allegiance in 1610.<sup>61</sup>

However, the total number of protests linked to Catholicism that reached the church courts from the seven deaneries of Herefordshire was extremely low. Between 1580 and 1638, just forty-three protests, involving seventy-eight perpetrators, were reported where the words or context of the protest make the Catholic connection certain or highly probable. These cases included five protests of verbal and sometimes physical abuse towards churchwardens or those who sought to present individuals because of their absence from church, and ten in which individuals with a Catholic track-record attended church but skulked in corners or actively disrupted a service. Of the remaining twenty-eight cases, four were about sermons and preaching; eight about the Protestant communion; two showed disdain for the church building; four were contemptuous of the form of service; two were protests about the prayer book; one disrespect for the Bible (it was a ‘babe’); two were refusals to join the perambulation of the parish boundaries at Rogationtide (the reason given in one case was that the vicar would not ‘kneele at the crosses’); one criticised the vicar for lacking a ‘tonce’ (tonsure), and four mocked vicars’ children for being ‘gulls’, or their wives for being ‘Queanes’, unhappy at the absence of celibacy which in Catholic times had symbolised their sacramental role as mediators between man and God.

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<sup>60</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614. The King’s holiday which celebrated his deliverance was 5 November. Hutton comments that 5 November festivities spread slowly, and that most parishes which came to observe it did so in the 1610s; R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the ritual year 1400-1700* (Oxford 1994), p. 184. Cressy notes that ‘there was a great variety of practice (regarding the ringing of bells) away from London’; D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells* (Stroud, 1989), p. 58.

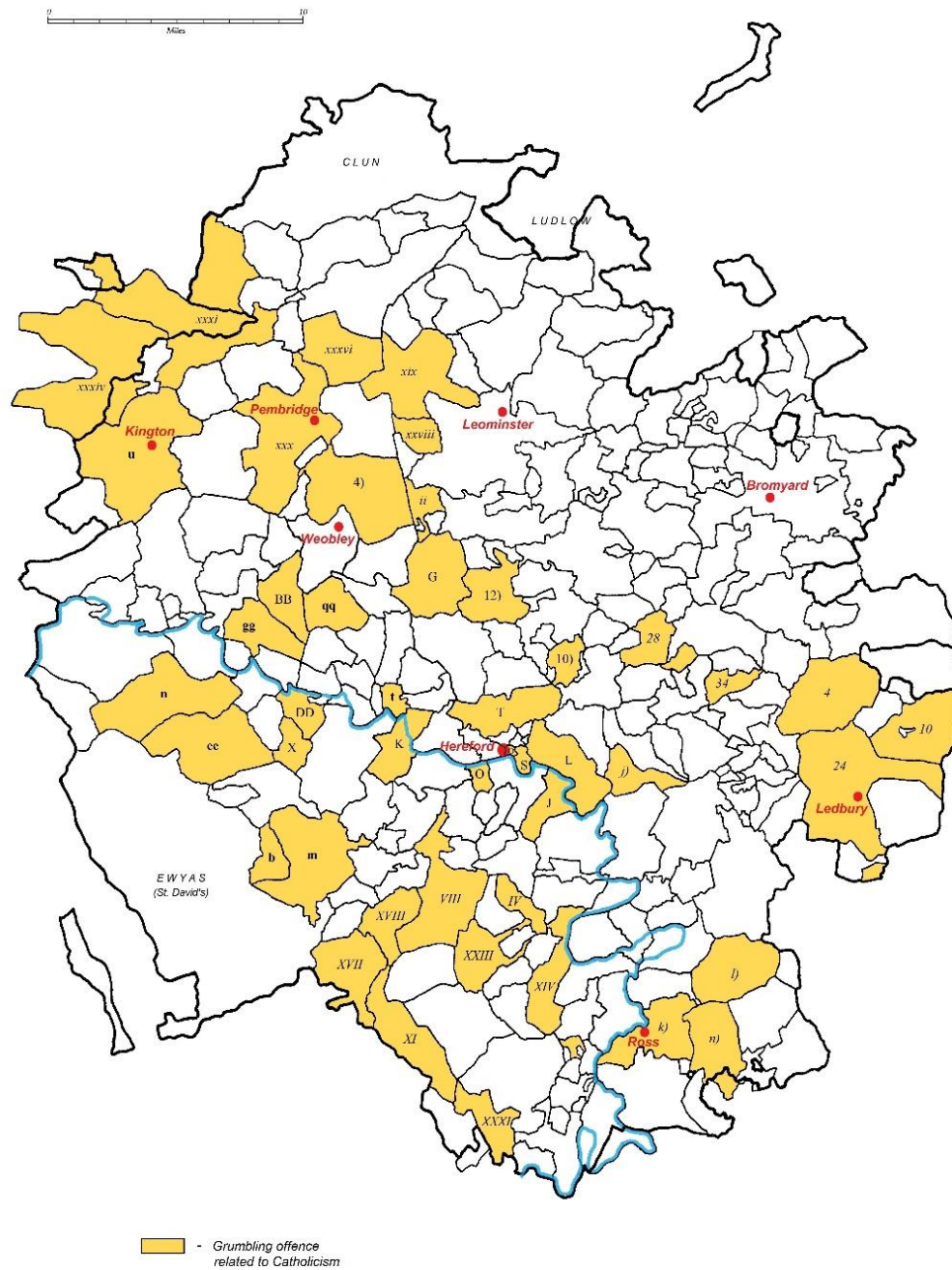
<sup>61</sup> HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617. Two other men who tried to persuade Cadwallador were Mr Thomas Coningsby and Mr Humphrey Cornwall; AAW, Series A, IX, 74, An account of the martyrdom of Roger Cadwallador by Robert Jones 1610, in Latin; transcribed at Belmont Archives, Hereford.

As Map XVI shows, these protests were spread fairly evenly across the deaneries and occurred in parishes which made very few, or even no, presentments for not attending church or receiving the communion, as well as in parishes where recusancy was quite common. Most parishes in Herefordshire, in stark contrast to places in continental Europe where Protestant and Catholic faiths were practised side by side, made only one protest presentment, or at the most, two or three.<sup>62</sup> This is minimal disruption to neighbourliness: in the absence of other evidence, it would appear that parish communities, vis-à-vis their worship, were more or less ‘getting along’.

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<sup>62</sup> Where there was sharing of church buildings, confrontations similar to Alice Fletcher’s were as frequent as acts of worship; Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 214-216, p. 216.

MAP XVI Grumblings related to Catholicism in Herefordshire 1582-1638



## **KEY TO MAP XVI Grumblings**

### **FROME DEANERY**

4 Bosbury  
10 Colwall  
24 Ledbury  
28Ocle Pichard  
34 Stretton Grandison

### **LEOMINSTER DEANERY**

ii Birley  
xix Kingsland  
xxviii Monkland  
xxx Pembridge  
xxxi Presteigne  
xxxiv Old Radnor  
xxxvi Shobdon

### **WEOBLEY DEANERY**

b Bacton  
m Abbey Dore  
n Dorstone  
t Kenchester  
u Kington  
ee Peterchurch  
gg Staunton-on-Wye  
qq Yazor

### **HEREFORD DEANERY**

G Canon Pyon  
J Dinedor  
K Eaton Bishop  
L Hampton Bishop  
O Hereford St John's  
S Hereford St Owen's  
T Holmer  
X Tibberton  
BB Norton Canon  
DD Preston on Wye

### **ARCHENFIELD DEANERY**

IV Little Birch  
VIII Much Dewchurch  
XI Garway  
XIV Hentland  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XXIII Llanwarne  
XXXI Welsh Newton

### **ROSS DEANERY**

j) Mordiford  
k) Ross  
l) Upton Bishop  
n) Weston under Penyard

### **WESTON DEANERY**

4) Dilwyn  
10) Sutton St Nicholas  
12) Wellington

However, at a national level, bishops suspected that some protests were being deliberately concealed and, consequently, they used their visitation articles to enquire about failures to present.<sup>63</sup> The Herefordshire courts occasionally picked up attempts at concealment. Adam Impton's reprimand for his failure to present various abuses of the vicar in Norton in 1608 has already been mentioned. Parishioner Rice ap Rice of Kilpeck tried to conceal his recusancy from the courts in 1598 by 'sheeking Robert Flanniers by the nose in the churchyard and giving him a box on the eare because he did present him for not coming to church'.<sup>64</sup> Sidesman William Butler of St Owen's in Hereford, on being presented in 1605 for his refusal to search out parishioners, including Catholics, who were drinking instead of attending services, 'threatened the sworn men to have their eares nailed to the pillory and be raised in the Subsidie'.<sup>65</sup> It is also highly likely that cases did not reach the church courts because of contemporaries' preference for avoiding confrontation, underpinned by the impulse to behave charitably towards one's enemies, or, if activities became too corrosive of social relations, because arbitration was effective.<sup>66</sup> John Rondell of Aymestrey, for example, at first refused the communion at Easter in 1605, but on being 'required' to do so by his 'honest neighbours', capitulated and received.<sup>67</sup> If, however, reconciliation was effective, or sheer avoidance of issues worked, these outcomes both lead to the same conclusion as the low number of presentments for grumbling: parish communities were more or less 'getting along'.

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<sup>63</sup> For example, Bishop Godwin of Llandaff 1603, Article 11; Bishop Chaderton of Lincoln 1607, Touching Parishioners, Article 25; Bishop Dove of Peterborough 1617, Omission of the old churchwardens' accounts, Article 33; 1622; Fincham, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, I, pp. 2, 78, 146.

<sup>64</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599. Other religiously-linked examples of attempted concealment which turned on presentments for recusancy or other Catholic practice included William Unett, gentleman, and his wife Alice, who were presented at Bosbury in 1605 for calling the churchwardens 'monkes knave' and 'owtlande knave' because the wardens had presented them as recusants at the previous visitation, and Jacob Hull and Richard Smith, churchwardens at Pembridge in 1632, who were presented for concealing the baptism of the daughter 'of Walter Baskerville and Judith his wife ... as is supposed clandestinely by some Romish priest but contrary to the expresse monition of the parson'; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>65</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. Butler did not receive the communion in 1609 and 1611; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613.

<sup>66</sup> Walsham, *Charitable hatred*, p. 273.

<sup>67</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

Unfortunately, no Court of Assizes records remain for Herefordshire, but the general absence of Catholic participants in other secular court records seems to point to inter-confessional ‘getting along’. As seen, few cases with a religious content reached Star Chamber, and this seems also to have been true at Quarter Sessions. In a dispute in the early 1590s between Thomas Atkins, Attorney for the Council in the Marches, and Fabian Phillips, Chief Justice for North Wales, one of the accusations Atkins made against Phillips was that he had favoured ‘many poor papists and retainers’ at Quarter Sessions, including those held at Hereford, in the previous decade.<sup>68</sup> However, Atkins’ case, according to Penry Williams’ reading, did not convince.<sup>69</sup> Phillips was in fact cleared of the charges, and although he made counter-charges against Atkins, which seem to have been upheld, these were wide-ranging, and concerned thieves and adulterers, not only supposed recusants.<sup>70</sup> Just occasionally a name which intrigues crops up in one of the lists, as that of John Collie, named by Atkins as a recusant whose case against a poor widow, which included beating messengers from the Council, had allegedly been ‘eased’ by Phillips. If this was John Collye, yeoman of Bromyard, presented for not receiving the communion in 1582, and perhaps part of a group supported by the recusant Mr Richard Abington, this may be one authentic example from the secular courts of a Catholic not ‘getting along’ with a neighbour.<sup>71</sup>

Quarter Session records for Hereford Borough (with a very few cases from beyond the borough) survive from 1579 to 1642 but only one of the cases involved known recusants, and this was a straightforward report of people, most of whom were also presented to the

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<sup>68</sup> TNA STAC 5/A6/38, Phillips v. Atkins 1591.

<sup>69</sup> Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I*, p. 152. Williams based his conclusion on his reading of the many Star Chamber cases brought in the dispute between Phillips and Atkins. A complete reading of the many documents has not been attempted for this thesis.

<sup>70</sup> TNA STAC 5/A6/38, Phillips v. Atkins 1591; Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I*, p. 153.

<sup>71</sup> HAS HD4/1/150, Acts of Office 1582-1583. See pp. 185-186 for Abington.

ecclesiastical courts.<sup>72</sup> For the most part the records consist of a handful of depositions and of recognizances (sums of money pledged as security for the future performance of an act or the avoidance of an offence), lists of jurors, brief bills, fines, summons and rulings on petty offences.<sup>73</sup>

The surviving records from the Council in the Marches are patchy. The books of cases and of fines date only from 1616 to 1636 (cases) and from 1617 to 1632, and 1632 to 1642 (fines).<sup>74</sup> Parishes are mentioned throughout the 1617 to 1632 book of fines, but the book of cases only gives the names of the disputants. There is a little overlap between the books, and sometimes a tentative guess about who was involved can be made when personal names are distinctive to location, yet the names are only occasionally those of men who appeared in the ecclesiastical courts at some point for Catholic offences.<sup>75</sup> Mr George Kemble, for example, was perhaps the recusant George Kemble of Welsh Newton.<sup>76</sup> He was fined at the Council in the Marches in 1634 and again in 1637, but both fines concerned finance and were much more likely to have been connected to his business interests in the local iron foundries than to have had anything to do with religion.<sup>77</sup> Only two cases can be

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<sup>72</sup> HAS BG11/5/27. There is just one presentment of recusants; this is from each of the wards of the city and was made in 1605. Forty-four people were listed, of whom twelve do not appear in the ecclesiastical court records. The twelve were Thomas Jenkins and Joan his wife, Dr Harley and 'Owld Ecly' of St Owens' ward; John Grey of Wybridge ward; John and Sibble Price, the children of Rose Maylord, of Ine ward; Yevan Thomas, brewer, and Joan his wife of Wigmarsh ward; Elizabeth Watkins wife of Thomas, Joan wife of Philip Thomas and Mary Clarke the wife of William, of Bysters ward.

<sup>73</sup> Quarter sessions records date from 1579-1605, 1605-1613, 1616-1619, 1621-1623, 1624-1625, 1627-1629, 1630-1633, 1633-1635, and 1639 to 1642; HAS BG11/5/26-34. The definition of recognizance is from J. Bristow, *The Local Historian's Glossary of Words and Terms* (Newbury, 2001).

<sup>74</sup> BL Harleian MSS 4220, Loose Depositions, and Huntington Archives EL 7564 – 7601, Book of Fines, Trinity term 1639 to June 1642.

<sup>75</sup> Phythian-Adams drew attention to the substantial stock of surnames which can be linked by location from the thirteenth- to the nineteenth-centuries and which represented local lines of land-owning yeomen families who, over the years, married locally and stayed close to their original homes, forming the core of the *pays* in rural areas; Phythian-Adams, 'Re-thinking English Local History', p. 32.

<sup>76</sup> George Kemble was on the Bishop of Hereford's list of principal recusants in 1605, regularly presented at the church courts as of the parish of Welsh Newton, and on the Puritans' list sent to Robert Harley in 1642; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocese of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury, 22 June 1605; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1631-1632; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642.

<sup>77</sup> Huntington Archives EL 7579-7583, Book of Fines, Michaelmas Term Ludlow 5 November 1634; Huntington Archives EL 7592-7594a, Book of Fines, Hilary Term Ludlow 15 January 1637; McParlin, *The Herefordshire Gentry in County Government*, p. 4.

identified as perhaps having had a religious dimension. One was a case of assault and affray brought against George Farley in 1620 by a widow in Ledbury: if this was the George Farley of the neighbouring parish of Bosbury, there is a small chance that religion was involved.<sup>78</sup> He had been one of the recusant Farleys caught up in trouble in 1605 and 1606, and he had been excommunicated again at Bosbury for not receiving the communion in 1617.<sup>79</sup>

More convincingly, however, religion was part of a second Council in the Marches case, made in 1621 against John Smith of Kilpeck. There is a little more detail about this in the records than was usual. Smith had been committed for ‘the taking of a presentment in a Leet (manor) court ... of a matter there not inquirable of without oath or evidence upon oath’ and had allowed evidence to be given to the jury without any oath being sworn.<sup>80</sup> John Smith must have been a common name: nonetheless it was ‘John Smith of Kilpeck’ who, in the same year in a Star Chamber case, was described as ‘a willfull and obstinate recusant who never came to church nor received the sacrament in all his lyfe’.<sup>81</sup> If the two men were indeed the same, John Smith would have had plenty of motivation for allowing evidence without oath: his actions would have allowed a co-religionist to act as a witness without compromising his faith.

There were intimations, too, around the Star Chamber case in which Smith was involved of further tension between non-Catholics and Catholic sympathisers among the county’s administrators. Thus, Thomas Barrett, an attorney at the court of Common Pleas, accused undersheriff John Prior of Walhills in Ledbury of selling the post of sheriff’s clerk to John Smith of Kilpeck in 1621. Furthermore, four years earlier Prior had arrested Smith’s

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<sup>78</sup> BL Harleian MSS 4220, Cases in the Council in the Marches 1620.

<sup>79</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; TNA STAC 8/53/21, Bartley v. Tyler May 1606; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617. George Farley of Ledbury was the son of Thomas Farley als Neale and his wife Elizabeth; all three refused to frequent divine service or receive the communion in 1605 and were excommunicated again in 1608 and 1609. George Farley was excommunicated in 1617 for not frequenting church. In 1606, Thomas, George and Elizabeth were all involved in a case which turned in part around a property dispute and involved violence on their part – George was put in the stocks by local constables. Mr William Unett was also involved in the violence.

<sup>80</sup> BL Harleian MSS 4220, Cases in the Council in the Marches, 1621.

<sup>81</sup> TNA STAC 8/83/12, Barrett v. Prior 1621.



father, also John Smith, together with John Cadwallador (brother to the martyred priest Roger).<sup>82</sup> John Smith the elder, ‘surnamed the pope’, had been imprisoned in the Gatehouse in London for his part in the Whitsun riots in 1605 and was known for his ‘great skill and cunning in seducing his highness liege people from their obedience and conformitie to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England.’<sup>83</sup> The arrest of Smith and Cadwallador in 1617 was for recusancy and took place on receipt of a writ issued by the Court of Chancery on behalf of the Bishop of Hereford. But, although Prior had carried out the bishop’s instructions in making the arrest, five days later he set the pair free for a £10 bribe, whereupon they had returned to illicit proselytising.<sup>84</sup> Prior was not openly accused of Catholicism at Star Chamber but it may be significant that he was son-in-law and heir of the gentleman William Bennet of Walhills in Ledbury, presented for not receiving the communion in 1605.<sup>85</sup> Barrett certainly seems to have been suspicious – as well as the evidence cited above he claimed that Prior had released ‘a further fortie other recusants or thereabouts’ in return for payment.

No further surviving court cases, either secular or ecclesiastical, shed light on religiously fuelled discontent in Herefordshire. However, Lord Eure’s comments in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury in 1609, over ten years before the legal action against Prior, inform of tension at the Hereford assizes when recusants had been enjoined to take the oath of allegiance. Justice Williams ‘yielded ... favours to (the recusants) in points concerning the pope’. ‘You can see,’ wrote Eure, ‘how this Country (farre remote) desireth to stand governed’.<sup>86</sup> The Bishop of Hereford, meanwhile, was complaining about the ‘disobedience of recusants encreased’ in the diocese and the number of their ‘public meetings and

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<sup>82</sup> TNA STAC 8/83/12, Barrett v. Prior 1621.

<sup>83</sup> TNA STAC 8/83/12, Barrett v. Prior 1621; TNA SP 14/14, f. 104, The examination of William Morgan by William Waad 18 June 1605. John Smith the elder was a recusant at Kilpeck from 1598 to 1626; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598 to 1599 to HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627.

<sup>84</sup> TNA STAC 8/83/12, Barrett v. Prior 1621.

<sup>85</sup> John Prior is named son-in-law to William Bennet in TNA STAC 8/76/13, Bennet v. Bennet 1616; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>86</sup> TNA SP 14/49, f. 44, Lord Ralph Eure to Salisbury 13 November 1609.

conventicles'. He had found people going 'to a man' in the house of Alice Ireland in Hereford and had himself arrested Mrs Frances Baskerville of Wormesley on her way to mass.<sup>87</sup>

There is no sign of other disturbance around 1609. Neither does there seem to have been trouble in Hereford a few months later, following the assassination of Protestant Henri IV of France, although there were 'great fears' in London.<sup>88</sup> One consequence of the assassination, however, may have been the bishop's renewed attempts to arrest the seminary priest Roger Cadwallador, which he succeeded in doing on April 10.<sup>89</sup> As Hereford was in the grip of plague Cadwallador was taken to Leominster for trial and execution, which, according to Robert Jones, attracted a 'multitude' before whom the Catholics present said 'prayers aloud'.<sup>90</sup> In Jones' account, unsurprisingly, the crowd was pro-Cadwallador, but his only mention of problems was the 'outrage' expressed when the gaoler strip-searched a 'simple youth' who had run some errands for the imprisoned priest.<sup>91</sup>

No evidence survives of Catholic alarms in Herefordshire in either the 1620s or 1630s. There was no disturbance which corresponded to the outburst of anti-Spanish sentiment in 1623 in London, inspired by the return to England of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham after the collapse of marriage negotiations with the Infanta.<sup>92</sup> Charles I's re-enforcement of the penal laws against Catholics in August 1625 seems only to have been reflected in the

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<sup>87</sup> TNA SP 14/49, f. 44, Lord Ralph Eure to Salisbury 13 November 1609; TNA SP 14/48, f. 189, Names of principal male recusants, sent by the Bishop of Hereford to Lord Eure, President of Wales with remarks on them 27 October 1609.

<sup>88</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, p. 83.

<sup>89</sup> The bishop's justification for his actions was Cadwallador's repeated refusal to take the oath of allegiance; P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat* (London, 2002), p. 303.

<sup>90</sup> Stoneyhurst, Father Greene MSS, The Narrative of the Martyrdom, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, p. 391.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>92</sup> A. Walsham, 'The Fatall Vesper': Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London', *Past and Present*, 144 (1994), pp. 36-87, p. 38.

renewed rigour by the church courts to identify papists.<sup>93</sup> If recusant gentry were being fined more heavily than before, there is no evidence that it resulted in any protest. There are no parallels with 1630s Lancashire where refusals to pay ship money were most pronounced among impoverished Catholic gentry.<sup>94</sup> In Herefordshire the lists of those who refused to come forward for knighthood, and thus pay, on Charles I's coronation and of those who did not contribute to the repair of 'Old St Paul's' in 1633, included Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Only two Herefordshire Catholics claimed that they were unable to pay because of poverty: Richard Monnington of Sarnesfield alleged that he had 'passed away all his estate before the coronation for payment of debts', and John Harper, owner of Chilston in Madley but who 'now dwelleth in the city of Hereford', declared specifically that most of his debts were 'due to his majesty and the residue is not sufficient'.<sup>95</sup>

Herefordshire did, however, share in the national alarm regarding Catholics in the difficult years immediately prior to the Civil War. Actual conflict was limited and seems to have arisen from 'causeless panic'.<sup>96</sup> In May 1640, following the dissolution of the Short Parliament and coinciding with similar panics in England, a group of pressed men rioted at Presteigne and almost killed their captain 'because he is a papist'.<sup>97</sup> In November that year Stanley Gower, Puritan vicar of Brampton Bryan, warned Member of Parliament Sir Robert Harley that cooks at a Catholic house at Madeley in Shropshire were said to be preparing more meat than the household could itself consume, and that Catholics at Powis castle were said to be accumulating weapons, and in December he informed Harley of a 'special meeting of the papists' just north of the Herefordshire border in Shropshire, noting that 'Sir Toby

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<sup>93</sup> Dures, *English Catholicism*, p. 71.

<sup>94</sup> K. J. Lindley, 'The Lay Catholics of England in the reign of Charles I', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), pp. 199-221, p. 214.

<sup>95</sup> BL Add MSS 11051, Scudamore Papers, XI.

<sup>96</sup> R. Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', *Past and Present*, 52 (1971), pp. 23-55, p. 25.

<sup>97</sup> Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, pp. 90-1; T. T. Lewis, *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley*, Council of the Camden Society, Reprint (London, 2010), p. 95. Two Catholic officers were killed in northern England; R. Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', in C. Russell, *The Origins of the Civil War* (London, 1973), pp. 144-165, p. 158.

Marton your Jesuited papist is come down to Mr Ployden, who I think was not before there'.<sup>98</sup> Towards the end of November 1641, and again coinciding with other panics in the country, this time triggered by news of the slaughter of Protestants in Ireland, Robert Harley's contact in Ludlow informed him of 'a designe intended by some Papists' on Ludlow. The report led Harley to be 'afraied of his own Castell to be surprised', and he advised his wife to lay in guns and bullets. Lady Brilliana Harley's suggestion to Robert at this time that she and the children should leave Brampton for Shrewsbury (the first of several times she asked this) underlines her acute awareness of tensions in the county.<sup>99</sup> Anxiety in the area was no doubt running extremely high as, by this time, the effects of the Irish Rebellion were plain to see. Irish Protestant refugees were arriving via Milford Haven, Bristol, Minehead, Liverpool and Chester and were 'tramping ... main roads and lanes' throughout the country, bringing with them gory accounts of the massacre and themselves in need of charity in the parishes.<sup>100</sup> At Madley churchwardens paid out two shillings to a 'Gentlewoman of Ireland' on 4 July 1641.<sup>101</sup>

In 1642 tensions escalated. Early in January, Brilliana Harley was told that 'Mr Monnington and Mr Moore', both local Catholics, had armed themselves.<sup>102</sup> The following month the sheriff Isaac Seward made two complaints to Robert Harley about Thomas Williams, a tanner and one of the 'twenty-four' on the council of Leominster Borough: in the presence of witnesses Williams had 'used these words on January 11<sup>th</sup> last – we have brought

<sup>98</sup> BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70002, ff. 315, 353.

<sup>99</sup> Shropshire Archives, Bridgewater Collection, 212/Box 365/167; Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, p. 121.

<sup>100</sup> M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), pp. 55-78, pp. 55, 77.

<sup>101</sup> W. P. Cane, *The Churchwarden Accounts of Madley, Herefordshire, 1564-1642* (Sharon, CT, 2013), p. 312. There are no records of charity given to the Irish in the other churchwardens' accounts that survive for Herefordshire for this period, that is, St Nicholas' and All Saints' Hereford, and Hentland, although All Saints' did pay 2s. for 'keeping the strange child' in 1642 and then gave money to a woman from Hay Wood for the same child; HAS AG81-23, St Nicholas' Hereford Parish Records 1632-1670; HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Hereford Churchwardens' Accounts 1619-1665; HAS NG13/1, Hentland Churchwardens' Accounts 1629-1770.

<sup>102</sup> BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70003, f. 192. There are several candidates for Mr Monnington: for example, as described in chapter three, there were Monningtons at Sarnesfield, Wellington, Pembridge and Weobley. Mr Moore may have been the recusant presented at Wellington in 1636 and in Harley's list of 1642; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637; HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642.

four muskets to kill puritans', and, adding insult to injury, when Seward ordered the watch against Catholics, Williams had refused to have anything to do with it. Seward suspected Williams' religious allegiance, for he declared that behind Williams was his patron Justice of the Peace Wallop Brabazon, and behind Brabazon was the 'excommunicate papist' Mr John Clarke, with whom, Seward had maintained in December 1640, Brabazon and Williams 'regularly consorted'.<sup>103</sup> Whether this consorting was due to Catholic sympathies on the part of Brabazon is a moot point: Brabazon was related by marriage to the recusant Clarkes of Wellington, as his wife, Anne, née Blount, was the sister of Elizabeth Clarke, wife of Richard, but there is no mention of John Clarke in the Clarke family members recorded by the Heralds' Visitation of 1634.<sup>104</sup> Seward hinted too at the 'many disorders' that Thomas Williams and his companions were involved in, and expressed alarm that 'if time would serve they would show as little favour to puritans as any English or Irish papist would doe'. He did not know of any minister 'as hated ... as Mr Tombes (the Puritan vicar of Leominster) by a great number of superstitious people in the Towne'. Although the only concrete instance Seward gave of anti-Puritan action was Brabazon's entering 'twoe several indictments' at Hereford assizes against Tombes, the extent of Puritan unease can be measured by the actions of Tombes and his family who fled Herefordshire in early August, concerned about the 'barbarous rage and impetuous violence of the people'.<sup>105</sup> The alarm, nonetheless, was probably unfounded – a group of Justices of the Peace told Robert Harley in the same month that the Catholics were quiet. They wrote that, 'as for plots of Papists at home they are still underground as formerly and with us they are so quiet we have had no cause hither unto to

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<sup>103</sup> BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70002, f. 353, Stanley Gower to Robert Harley 12 December 1640; BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70003, f. 206, Isaac Seward to Robert Harley February 1642. Mr John Clarke and his wife were presented as recusants in Leominster in 1635; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637.

<sup>104</sup> Weaver, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1569*, by Robert Cooke, p. 12; Bongaerts, *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount*, p. 1; Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 101.

<sup>105</sup> BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70003, f. 206, Isaac Seward to Robert Harley February 1642; J. J. Smith, 'John Tombes (1602-1672)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004).

apprehend any danger from them.’<sup>106</sup> The Justices were not alone in their scepticism: Edward Harley of Brampton Bryan doubted the papists had any strength, as did the Bishop of Worcester and Deputy-lieutenant Thomas Holland.<sup>107</sup>

All in all, then, evidence for inter-confessional discord in Herefordshire is scant. That the one significant period of violence occurred in 1605 and that the period of marked anxiety occurred in the early 1640s chimes with Sheils’ observation that breakdowns in relations were provoked by national political concerns.<sup>108</sup> The scares around 1605, of course, were part of a widespread discontent among Catholics around the time of James I’s accession. Priests played an instrumental role in fomenting unrest, both in the call to arms among the ‘Jesuited’ gentlemen and in local involvement in the Bye Plot, and the only ‘descent into violence’, the Whitsun riots, were also closely connected to clergy.<sup>109</sup> In the northern parishes many of those involved were part of a network of committed plebeian Catholics associated with the priests Williams and Cadwallador, and in the southern parishes those ready to defend the Darren included regular attenders at Darren masses and were, in all probability, loyal followers of Robert Jones the Jesuit. The riots came to a speedy end, as a result of the rioters’ failure to achieve anything concrete, Worcester’s assurance to Cecil that those involved were ‘but silly creatures’, and the purposeful ecclesiastical court, convened in the autumn under the auspices of a metropolitan visitor which dealt with offenders.<sup>110</sup> In the years immediately prior to the Civil War, Hereford’s panics largely corresponded to the nationwide pattern discerned by Clifton: there were several waves of alarms, the first

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<sup>106</sup> BL Harley Papers Add MSS 70003, f. 238, Wallop Brabazon et al. to Robert Harley and Humphrey Coningsby April 1642. The letter was signed by Wallop Brabazon, William Croft, William Smalman, Thomas Prise, Henry Lingen, William Rudhale and Thomas Wigmore.

<sup>107</sup> A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), p. 207.

<sup>108</sup> Sheils, ‘Getting on and getting along’, pp. 80-81.

<sup>109</sup> Walsham, ‘Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England’, p. 124.

<sup>110</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 116-122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-269, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

coinciding with the dissolution of the Short Parliament in May 1640, another in November 1640 during the first six weeks of Parliament, a third in the autumn of 1641 following a summer when relations between Charles and Parliament were at an all-time low, and the final one in the months just before war broke out.<sup>111</sup> Typically, too, when disturbances centred on Catholics known to a locality they lived just beyond the area, or, if they were local, it was because of some unusual behaviour such as the purchase of arms.<sup>112</sup>

In five smaller instances of tension cited here, religion was most likely a secondary concern, tagged on to other quarrels. In the Star Chamber case Barrett versus Prior, the main issue was administrative corruption, with the release of the ‘notorious’ John Smith and John Cadwallador, plus ‘fortie other recusants or thereabouts’, only one of the crimes said to have been committed by the undersheriff. Four cases - Williams versus Parry, Bartley versus Tyler, Haworth versus Phillips and the quarrels reported to the ecclesiastical courts about filth draining into the churchyard at Pembridge – added religion to what were at heart economic disputes. The accusations of Catholic allegiance made in the first three cases were no doubt justified, however, and at Wormebridge, at least, there is enough in the evidence to suggest that the Catholics named consorted together more than once. Epiphanus Haworth’s primary worry was his tithes, but he identified the men sent by James Phillips to disrupt their collection as Catholic, and his enmity against Phillips, which he claimed was ‘ancient’, perhaps went back to his dispute with the recusant John Phillips who was probably James’ father.<sup>113</sup>

A further three breakdowns do seem to have been driven primarily by religion. In one of these, the case at Norton, there are no clues in the record about why it was not soluble by the impulse to neighbourliness. The vicar was not a hot Protestant, but some of his congregation clearly found him insufficiently respectful of Catholic traditions for their taste

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<sup>111</sup> Clifton, ‘Fear of Popery’, pp. 158-161.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165

<sup>113</sup> TNA STAC 8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 4 James.

and made his life difficult. At Kentchurch, it may have been in part vicar John Baguley's relentless expression of his views that made this such a serious instance of 'not getting along'. He and Mrs Amy Cavendishe had probably been at loggerheads over their respective beliefs since Baguley's arrival in the parish in 1597.<sup>114</sup> Baguley admitted to endeavouring to reform Amy Cavendishe when she had been the wife of John Scudamore, esquire, and she had doubtless been among the recusants with whom he had 'conferred ... since his first Cominge thither'. As he claimed to 'sometimes preach against her erroneous and divillish opinions', it is not surprising that her antagonism towards him ran deep.<sup>115</sup> Schoolmaster Robert Tetlowe was similarly forceful in expressing his views on the 'real presence', doing it not only 'in the hearing of many', but also in the presence of Walter Williams, another vicar who was a self-proclaimed 'zelous and painfull preacher'.<sup>116</sup> It was these factors, perhaps, that made these last two cases difficult to resolve out of court.

### **'Getting Along'**

Nonetheless, as noted above, the number of religious protests that reached either the secular or the ecclesiastical courts was low. 'Getting along' was apparently the norm, and there is positive evidence of this in the records for Herefordshire. Yet, in each area of life where such evidence exists, there is also the suggestion of unease, the subtle expression, perhaps, of the permanent tension experienced by people of differing beliefs who were living side by side.

One apparently uncomplicated instance of 'getting along' occurred in 1616 when recusant gentleman John Carpenter of Almeley acted as a good neighbour by stepping in because one of his elderly tenants was in dispute with his own son: Carpenter 'laboured to

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<sup>114</sup> TNA STAC8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619; TNA E 331/11, Returns of the First Fruits and Tenths, cited in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*; [clergydatabase.org](http://clergydatabase.org).

<sup>115</sup> TNA STAC 8/27/13, Attorney General v. Baguley June 1619.

<sup>116</sup> TNA STAC 8/181/31, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 4 James.



accord the differences between (the parties)'.<sup>117</sup> Carpenter cannot have been entirely disinterested, for the premises had become 'depastured': yet he does not seem to have been showing partiality for there is no indication that his tenant was also a Catholic.<sup>118</sup> Several wills also point to Catholics and probable church papists 'getting along' in their communities. In 1615 yeoman Thomas Wellington of Allensmore, husband of Ales whose burial sparked the Whitsun riots, was one of the several debtors of non-Catholic John Banks, alongside Richard Heynes, Allensmore's vicar.<sup>119</sup> Hugh Powell, husbandman of Leominster, a non-frequenter of church from 1600 to 1602, had lent money to six people who do not appear in the church court records for Catholic offences, and the three debtors of the Catholic Roger Cadwallador senior, yeoman, and father to Roger the seminary priest, were apparently not Catholics.<sup>120</sup> Besides the mutual trust between Catholic and non-Catholic indicated by these loans, the acknowledgement of the debts as part of the will-making process was also understood as a 'powerful communal moment' in early modern times.<sup>121</sup> There are also two instances of Catholics acting as witnesses to the wills of non-Catholics. In 1599 John Skynner of Withers, Ledbury, a recusant in 1586 and 1587, and whose wife Anna received recusants in their house in 1595 and continued a recusant until 1608, was witness to the will of Henry Broy, one of a group of Ledbury men who seemed to have been committed Protestants.<sup>122</sup> And clothweaver Richard Skinner, a recusant in 1608, was perhaps one of the

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<sup>117</sup> TNA STAC 8/95/12, Carpenter v. Foote 1616. John Carpenter was presented as a recusant from 1605 to 1632; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>118</sup> John Foote, Carpenter's tenant, was not presented to the church courts for Catholic offences.

<sup>119</sup> TNA prob11/127, The Will of John Banks of Allensmore 1615. Thomas Wellington was presented for not receiving the communion in 1602, but after that was probably a church papist. He would not send his children for catechism in 1605, and in 1621 appeared as a penitent, but his offence was not recorded; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621.

<sup>120</sup> TNA prob11/101, The Will of Hugh Powell, husbandman of Leominster 1602; TNA prob11/115, The Will of Roger Cadwallador senior of Treville 1603, proved 1610; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602.

<sup>121</sup> D. Beaver, 'Sown in Dishonour, Raised in Glory: Death, Ritual and Social Organisation in Northern Gloucestershire, 1590-1690', *Social History*, 17 (1992), pp. 389-419, p. 399.

<sup>122</sup> TNA prob11/111, The Will of Henry Broy of Ledbury 1599; HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587; HAS HD4/1/153, Acts of Office 1587-1588; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609. See pp. 192-194 for Ledbury Protestants.

two Richard Skinners who witnessed the will of clothier Anthony Skinner of Ledbury in 1600.<sup>123</sup>

On the other hand, the incidence of non-family member Catholics being given important roles by Catholics is worth noting. Leominster husbandman Hugh Powell had lent money to non-Catholics, but the executor to his will was his 'loving neighbour', Mr William Hawkins of nearby Stretford, on the Bishop of Hereford's 1605 list of principal recusants and specially noted as 'a seducer to popery'.<sup>124</sup> Roger Cadwallador senior lent money to non-Catholics but he had chosen to borrow from John Breynton senior, esquire, of Stretton, presented to the church courts as a recusant between 1605 and 1608.<sup>125</sup> One of the witnesses to Cadwallador senior's will was William Symondes of Kingstone, participator in the Whitsun riots, and his overseer was his 'dear friend Master William Morgan', also of Whitsun riots fame, and who, when imprisoned in the Tower of London, admitted that he had had dealings with his neighbour Roger Cadwallador, the father of Roger Cadwallador the priest.<sup>126</sup> When Thomas Chambers of Winforton, not frequenting church in 1629 and 1632, made his will in 1636, he chose John Watkins, a non-receiver of the communion, as his executor.<sup>127</sup> Perhaps two of the three witnesses to the will of Mr Ambrose Griffiths of St Owen's, Hereford, on the high sheriff's list of the 'highly Jesuited' in 1605, were the Catholics Edward Clarke, presented as a recusant at St Owen's in 1602, and William Harley, also presented at St Owen's in 1602 and whose name had been on the list of recusants that the

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<sup>123</sup> TNA prob11/95, The Will of Anthony Skinner, clothier of Ledbury 1600. The other Richard Skinner who witnessed Anthony's will was likely to have been his father, Richard Skinner of Burtons, who died in 1606 and mentioned his 'late son Anthony' in his own will; TNA prob11/113, The Will of Richard Skinner of Burtons 1606.

<sup>124</sup> TNA prob11/101, The Will of Hugh Powell husbandman of Leominster 1602; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>125</sup> TNA prob11/115, The Will of Roger Cadwallador senior of Treville 1603; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609.

<sup>126</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury, 22 June 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 104, The examination of William Morgan by William Waad in the Tower 18 June 1605.

<sup>127</sup> TNA prob11/183, The Will of Thomas Chambers yeoman of Winforton 1636; HAS HD4/1/4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

dean sent to the Privy Council in 1595.<sup>128</sup> Richard Harries, yeoman of Eaton Bishop and who had ‘divers’ recusants in his house in 1591, entrusted his ‘cloth of Arras’ to the keeping of William Boyle, gentleman of St John’s Hereford who was presented there in 1591 for not receiving the communion. Not only is this connection of interest, but the ‘cloth of Arras’ may well have been a tapestry with a religious theme, for which Arras, in northern France, was particularly well known.<sup>129</sup>

Such examples underline the importance of mutual support among Catholics, adding to the evidence given in chapter three: Herefordshire’s Catholics may have been concerned to ‘get along’ but their deeper trust, not unnaturally, seems to have been vested in those of their own faith. A further instance highlights this bias. Robert ap Rees, presented for not receiving holy communion in 1613, and the infamous John Smith, both of Kilpeck, were called alongside other witnesses to testify in a tithes case between the curate of Kilpeck and Sir Charles Morgan of Treville in 1611.<sup>130</sup> Smith spoke on behalf of both plaintiff and defendant, but he seems to have favoured crypto-Catholic Morgan.<sup>131</sup> He had been the only person to accompany Charles Morgan’s brother Thomas as a ‘solisitor’ on Charles Morgan’s behalf the day before the trial to try to persuade a key witness ‘not to make any defence against the action’. Furthermore, in preparation for the case, he had visited the bishop’s registrar Thomas Crumpe to search ‘ancient records’ for evidence of Morgan’s rights. No records were found, but Smith appears to have had some kind of success for Crumpe

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<sup>128</sup> TNA prob11/194, The Will of Ambrose Griffiths 1609; TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605; Bowler, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581-1592*, p. 58; HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1601-1602. Edward Clarke of St Owen’s may have been the same man as Edward Clarke of Wellington, ‘highly Jesuited’, like Ambrose Griffiths, in 1605.

<sup>129</sup> TNA prob11/105, The Will of Richard Harry, yeoman of Eaton Bishop 1604; A. Vauchez (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages*, I (Cambridge, 2014), p. 112.

<sup>130</sup> TNA E 134/8Jas1/Hil 9, John Gwillim, clerk, v. Sir Charles Morgan; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>131</sup> The Bishop of Hereford asserted that Charles Morgan was a ‘total recusant’ in 1605; TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury*, M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online.

admitted to ‘certain pencons or temporalities’ due to Morgan, relating to ‘a lease of the rectory of the park of Treville to Charles Morgan’s great-grandfather from the Abbey of Grasedew’ in Monmouthshire, and signed a document in testimony.<sup>132</sup>

Historians have argued, too, that members of minority groups ‘got on’ and ‘got along’ by taking on local offices such as that of churchwarden. The role was to their advantage (they retained influence in their communities) and to the advantage of their neighbours (they made a significant contribution to the maintenance of community and church).<sup>133</sup> Marsh argued, further, that, in the case of the Familists of Cambridgeshire, another group outside of the Church of England mainstream, individuals who became churchwardens were truly ‘getting along’: they were appointed to local offices ‘for the plain reason that their judgements were trusted’ by the band of ‘respectable’ parishioners who were responsible for making appointments. The ‘resources of religious tolerance available within English parish communities’, he asserted, at least in the 1580s and 1590s, ‘have been underestimated quite seriously’.<sup>134</sup> The area of Herefordshire where Catholicism was relatively strong, that is, in some of the parishes south and west of the Wye, had a number of Catholic churchwardens and sidesmen. The judgement of some may have won approval from parishioners sympathetic to Catholicism, as suggested in chapter three – William and Henry Quarrell, churchwardens of Wormebridge in 1587, in particular, who ‘did not exhibit the communicants book at Easter’.<sup>135</sup> But others, unlike the Cambridgeshire Familists, do not seem to have been ‘getting along’ very well in their communities. Jacob Scudamore of Ganarew was presented by the churchwardens who succeeded him for ‘absent(ing) himself many times from the church’ when he was warden in 1626, and John Davies of Llangarren

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<sup>132</sup> TNA E 134/8Jas1/Hil 9, John Gwillim, clerk, v. Sir Charles Morgan.

<sup>133</sup> C. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 172, 188-190; D. Plumb, ‘A gathered church? Lollards and their society’, pp. 14, 162; Sheils, ‘Household, Age and Gender’, p. 142.

<sup>134</sup> Marsh, *The Family of Love*, pp. 188-190.

<sup>135</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587.

was an ‘assistant’ to the wardens in 1627 but was disapproved of for ‘putting his children to school to Mr Kemble a convicted excommunicate’.<sup>136</sup> At St Owen’s in Hereford city in 1605 the conflict was palpable when sidesman and probable church papist William Butler refused to help the churchwardens make presentments or to ‘find out lurking abroad and tipling in alehouses at time of diven service’, including habitual non-receivers of communion like Mr John Newton: Butler made threats against the sworn men when they wished to present him.<sup>137</sup> Were such men accepted as churchwardens grudgingly because, as Sheils argued for several early seventeenth-century Yorkshire parishes, so many substantial male householders were Catholics that they were necessary for the smooth running of the parish, rather than accepted because their judgements were trusted?<sup>138</sup> This may well have been the case in small parishes like Tibberton. Here between 1605 and 1611 as many as five individuals who were churchwardens were also presented for Catholic offences. Richard Brampton, churchwarden in 1608 and again in 1611, was presented in 1595 for ‘that he doth not Come our Churche to heire divine service by the space of one holle yeare beinge a yoman and howsehoulder in our parish’, and for similar offences in 1605, 1608, 1611 (two of the years in which he served as warden), 1612, 1613 and 1626. In 1605 William Matthews was a churchwarden with Thomas Jenkins, but at an earlier court that year Matthews had been presented for not receiving the communion, and he was presented again in 1608; Thomas Jenkins went on to be presented in 1611, 1612 and 1613. Triamor Griffiths and Henry Hadley, similarly, were wardens and Catholics; Hadley, like Brampton, was presented for a long period, between 1611 and 1623.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.

<sup>137</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. Butler did not receive the communion in 1609 and 1611; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613.

<sup>138</sup> Sheils, ‘Household, Age and Gender’, p. 142.

<sup>139</sup> HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630.

Another area of life where the Herefordshire records suggest ambiguity is in Catholics' use of the church for the rites of marriage, baptism and burial.<sup>140</sup> The evidence depends on parish registers, which are not, of course, necessarily reliable: errors of transcription or omission were liable to occur, particularly in the early registers, which were usually made up periodically from information recorded by the minister or parish clerk in notebooks, or even on scraps of paper.<sup>141</sup> An Act of 1598 required paper records to be copied into parchment books, another potential source of mistranscription. Individual records vary widely, but the typical under-registration level for the period between 1580 and 1639 was around five per cent.<sup>142</sup> As establishing more precise accuracy would necessitate complex tests which are beyond the scope of this study, it is assumed that the parish registers looked at here fall into the 'typical' category, that is, that they have omissions but these are unlikely to be serious.<sup>143</sup> It is a justifiable assumption for the Madley register, discussed below, which is on parchment and in the same careful hand from 1558 to 1605, copied most probably by the well-educated vicar Thomas Cookesey, who had been headmaster at Hereford Grammar School from 1587. Cookesey signed each page in the register, although he did not become vicar until 1595.<sup>144</sup> The records for 1595 are missing, possibly because this was the year that Cookesey took over from his predecessor, although this does not explain why the records for 1599 are also missing. However, there are no other gaps, and the recording appears to have continued efficiently, taken on just before Cookesey's death in 1607 by John Gough, a similarly well-educated inhabitant of the parish, later to become a public notary at the

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<sup>140</sup> Key differences between Protestant and Catholic ceremonies are described in chapter five, as are the legal imperatives which made use of the Church of England attractive.

<sup>141</sup> E. A. Wrigley, 'How Reliable is our Knowledge of the Demographic Character of the English Population in the Early Modern Period?', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), pp. 571-595, p. 576.

<sup>142</sup> E. A. Wrigley, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 77.

<sup>143</sup> Wrigley, 'How Reliable', p. 578; Wrigley, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution*, pp. 87, 93-116.

<sup>144</sup> HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835, [www.clergydatabase.org.uk](http://www.clergydatabase.org.uk).

bishop's registry in London, and then by two vicars, John Rose in 1607 and George Thomas in 1631.<sup>145</sup>

Sixteen Herefordshire parish registers cover all or most of the period from the early 1580s when Catholic offences started to be presented to the church courts, to just before the Civil War. The seven searched here for Catholics using Anglican services for baptism, marriage and burial are those where the parishes presented a reasonably large number of persistent recusants to the church courts:

*Table 4(i) Use of the church for rites of passage by persistent recusants (including gentry)<sup>146</sup>*

Parish	Number of persistent recusants	Persistent recusants with entries in parish register for marriage, baptism or burial after their first church court record for Catholic offence	Persistent recusants with no such entries	Persistent recusants using both church and Catholic priest
Bosbury	5	5	0	0
Eaton Bishop	8	4	4	0
Much Dewchurch	1	1	0	0
Sutton St Nicholas	3	3	0	0
Wellington	7	4	3	0
Wormebidge	4	0	4	0
Madley	17	9	6	2?
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2<sup>147</sup></b>

There were sound reasons for using Church of England services: property rights depended on legal marriages, only baptised children were legitimate and burial in consecrated ground was to be desired. But it is nonetheless remarkable that over half of the persistent recusants in the seven parishes - people who were apparently refusing to attend church or take part in the eucharist – were prepared to use the church for these ceremonies. Mrs Catherine Phillips of Much Dewchurch, for example, was well-known as a determined Catholic. She was presented to the church courts between 1598 and 1609, on the bishop's list

<sup>145</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; TNA prob11/110, The Will of Thomas Gough 1607.

<sup>146</sup> Persistent recusants are defined as those who persisted as recusants for at least four years. There are no surviving bishops' transcripts for these parishes before 1660. The parishes included in the table are those where church registers for the period c.1580-1638 survive.

<sup>147</sup> Persistent recusants William and Catherine Caunt may have used both priest and church; see page 267.

of principal recusants in 1604, and accused in Star Chamber in 1607 of being ‘a great enemy and maligner of such as do resort unto the church to hear divine prayer’.<sup>148</sup> Even so, eight of her children were christened in church after 1598 and she was herself buried there in 1612.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps the ceremonies took place at the behest of her husband, John, for although he too was presented for recusancy, in 1605 and 1606, he seems to have had a good relationship with the vicar, Walter Williams, being in Williams’ house at Much Dewchurch, allegedly ‘in gods peace’, in 1607 in time to intervene in a fight, and thenceforth he perhaps attended church as he was not presented to the church courts again up to the time of his death in 1616.<sup>150</sup> There was a family tradition to keep up, also, for both Catherine’s father and grandmother had graves in the chancel, her father’s complete with his epitaph on a brass plaque.<sup>151</sup> There do not seem to have been similar circumstances in the case of Richard Clarke, gentleman of Wellington, however, who buried his first wife Anne in church in 1608 and, with his second wife Elizabeth, also a recusant, baptised five children and buried two.<sup>152</sup> Clarke was a particularly ‘notorious’ Catholic, of whom it was said in 1591 that ‘massing clerks ran to his house’, in 1609 that ‘all papists take (his) counsell’, and who remained on the recusant roll until 1632.<sup>153</sup>

The advantages derived from legitimate ceremonies, particularly marked for the gentry, were also perhaps important to better-off yeomen such as Thomas Farley of Bosbury,

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<sup>148</sup> TNA STAC 8/164/25: John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 1607. The case against Catherine was declared by Mr Epiphanus Haworth of Hereford and backed up by Lewis Watkins of Much Dewchurch; HAS HD4/1, Loose Depositions, Williams v. Watkins 1606.

<sup>149</sup> HAS AJ25/1, Much Dewchurch Parish Register 1558-1745; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599 to HAS HD4/1/166, Acts of Office 1609.

<sup>150</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; TNA STAC 8/164/25, John Phillips v. Epiphanus Haworth 1607; HAS HD4/1, Loose Depositions, Williams v. Watkins 1606.

<sup>151</sup> TNA prob11/75, The Will of Richard Lewys 1589. Richard Lewys was Catherine Phillips’ father.

<sup>152</sup> Elizabeth Clarke appeared as a recusant alongside her husband Richard in 1613 and 1619; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619. Winifred was baptised in 1614, Elizabeth in 1615 and Richard in 1616. Anne was baptised and buried in 1617 and John baptised and buried in 1619; HAS AG92/1, Wellington General Register 1558–1640.

<sup>153</sup> HAS AG92/1, Wellington General Register 1558–1640; TNA STAC 5/A6/38 Phillips v. Atkins 1591; TNA SP 14/48, f. 187, List of recusants sent to the Privy Council by the Bishop of Hereford 27 October 1609; TNA E 376/39, Recusant Roll 1632-1633.



who held customary lands valued at 41s. per annum, and Thomas Harries of Eaton Bishop, assessed for 2s. 8d. in the 1604 lay subsidy, both of whom were Catholics who used the church for rites of passage.<sup>154</sup> Tristram, the last son of Thomas Farley, was baptised in church in 1602, the year when Thomas was first presented for recusancy, and three of the children of Harries and his wife Anne were baptised in church between 1602 and 1609, the years when both parents were named recusants.<sup>155</sup> But more humble recusants used Church of England services too. William Carwardine of Eaton Bishop, for example, ‘a man of noe welthe ... to our knowledge’, was presented for recusancy in 1595 and again in 1605, but married in church in 1603, and John Pricket of Much Dewchurch, identified as a pauper in the bishop’s register in 1616, had two children baptised in church between 1605 and 1625, the period when he was presented as a recusant.<sup>156</sup>

There is just one entry in the church court records that could be interpreted as someone feeling ambiguous about the use of a Church of England service. In 1627 Mrs Elizabeth Parrie of Peterchurch, widow of Richard, was accused of two things: she had taken away the cloth that had covered her husband’s grave and then been ‘set in the chancel’, and had ‘converted the cloth to her own private use’, and she had given only £4 for the funeral, where her husband had left £10 ‘to be bestowed upon it’.<sup>157</sup> Mr Richard Parrie is likely to have been a man who moved in and out of recusancy. He had been presented for not receiving the communion in 1605 and was a ‘contemner of devine service and the sacraments’ in 1611, when he was accused also of being ‘a verie hypocrite in devine exercises’.<sup>158</sup> Elizabeth’s proceedings after his funeral, therefore, perhaps reflect her

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<sup>154</sup> HAS AA59/A/2, Butterfield’s Survey; TNA E 179/118/404, Lay Subsidy Webtree 1604.

<sup>155</sup> HAS B86/1, Bosbury General Register, 1558–1624; HAS J38/68, Eaton Bishop Parish Register, 1588–1683; HAS HD4/1/159, Acts of Office 1602 to HAS HD4/1/166, Acts of Office 1609. Thomas Farley continued to be presented for recusancy until 1609.

<sup>156</sup> HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean; HAS J38/68, Eaton Bishop Parish Register, 1588–1683; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop’s Register; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605–1606 to HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625–1626.

<sup>157</sup> HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626–1627.

<sup>158</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605–1606; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611.

reluctant use of a Protestant rite, and possibly point also to the use of some alternative clandestine ceremony.

What of the persistent recusants who do not appear in their parish registers? Some may have been past the relevant stage of their life-cycle when they were presented as recusants. Perina Herryng of Eaton Bishop, for example, was presented as a recusant in 1592 and 1605. She was the wife of John Herryng and one of the 'divers excommunicated' in the house of yeoman Richard Harries in 1592. Harries left 'Marie, the daughter of John Herryng' a featherbed and £10 in his will in 1604, implying, since children were more commonly left animals or amounts of money only, that she was already an adult. Thus, it is possible that Perina was Harries' daughter but past child-bearing age at the starting date, 1588, of the surviving register for the parish.<sup>159</sup> This may also have been the case for Joanna Yerrot, wife of William, although she too was presented as a recusant at Eaton Bishop for quite a long period, from 1611 to 1625.<sup>160</sup>

Yet is not easy to explain away everyone who was not in the registers. Thus, it would be reasonable to expect Mrs Elizabeth Morgan to have been buried, at least, at Eaton Bishop as she was presented as a widow and recusant there from 1602 to 1612 and was named again as a widow and recusant living in Eaton Bishop in 1618.<sup>161</sup> Equally unexpected is the absence of gentry Edward and Martha Clarke from the parish registers in Wellington where Edward was presented as a recusant between 1586 and 1611, and Martha between 1595 and 1605.<sup>162</sup> Edward and Martha were listed as members of the Wellington branch of the Clarke family in the 1634 Heralds' Visitation, where it was stated that they had had 'issue'.<sup>163</sup> No children were named by the heralds, but their daughters Sibill and Winifred, and their son

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<sup>159</sup> TNA prob/11/105, The Will of Thomas Harries yeoman of Eaton Bishop 1604; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595; HAS HD4/1/162 Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>160</sup> HAS J38/68, Eaton Bishop Parish Register 1588-1683; HCA 7002/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>161</sup> HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop's Register.

<sup>162</sup> HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office 1586-1587 to HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612.

<sup>163</sup> Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 103.

William, were listed as recusants at Wellington in 1611 so may well have been born in the parish.<sup>164</sup> It may be significant that Edward had had an old Marian priest living with him at Wellington in 1605.<sup>165</sup> Mr William More, also of Wellington, was a recusant from 1627 to 1640. He does not feature in the parish register, but a note against his name in the ecclesiastical court records in 1631 that he had a child ‘not christened in the church’ hints at a Catholic baptism.<sup>166</sup> Another Wellington gentleman, Mr Thomas Pembridge, himself the son of a Wellington recusant, was noted by the vicar, Richard Todd for ‘deferring the baptism of his child’ four years later, in 1635.<sup>167</sup> In this case, however, the child was eventually baptised in church on 25 September.<sup>168</sup> Richard Todd had been vicar in 1631, when More failed to baptise his child. Had Todd tried, but failed, to persuade him to use the church instead of the Catholic rite?<sup>169</sup>

It is surprising, too, that three recusant couples from Madley do not appear in the parish register. It could be argued that one of these couples, Randle and Catherine Best, are absent because they came from the neighbouring parish of Eaton Bishop – in 1604 Randle Best ‘of Eaton Bishop’ was on the bishop’s list of principal recusants, and he did not start to pay church rates in Madley until 1605. The Bests are not in the Eaton Bishop register either, however, although they were clearly of child-bearing age around this time, for in 1609 Randle was presented at Madley ‘for that his wife was delivered of a child, which child was not baptised by the vicar nor curate of the parish, but by whom or where it was baptised they knowe not’.<sup>170</sup> Randle Best continued to live in Madley, paying church rates until 1625, in

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<sup>164</sup> HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612.

<sup>165</sup> TNA STAC 5/A6/38, Phillips v. Atkins 1591; TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605; HAS AG92/1, Wellington Parish Register 1559-1696; HAS HD4/1/151, Acts of Office 1586 to HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619.

<sup>166</sup> HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628 to HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642.

<sup>167</sup> HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637.

<sup>168</sup> HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637; HAS AG92/1, Wellington Parish Register 1559-1696.

<sup>169</sup> HAS AG92/1, Wellington Parish Register 1559-1696.

<sup>170</sup> HAS HD 4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610.

arrears in 1633 and in 1636 being maintained by the parish.<sup>171</sup> If there were no more children after 1609, and if neither Best nor his wife died before the break in the register in 1639, there would be no reason for them to be recorded; nonetheless, their probable use of a Catholic priest in 1609, and their continued recusancy (until at least 1625), raises the possibility that they were deliberately avoiding Anglican rites.<sup>172</sup> A similar argument can be made for Thomas and Margary Barratt who were recusants from 1605 to 1614 and 1605 to 1626 respectively.<sup>173</sup> They, too, had a child baptised ‘by a seminarie priest’, in their case in 1604, and so were clearly of child-bearing age, and Thomas paid rates on lands in Cublington township between 1605 and 1618, and again from 1627 to 1633.<sup>174</sup> The third Madley couple, Thomas and Sibill Carwardine, both recusants from 1605 to 1613, also had a child baptised secretly, probably by a priest, in 1609 (‘by whom we knowe not’ is noted in the register).<sup>175</sup> It is hard to be sure that the Carwardines are completely absent from Madley’s register, as there were several branches of the Carwardine family in the parish and Thomas was a common name among them.<sup>176</sup> Yet, as well as the secret baptism, Thomas and Sibill were both buried ‘as recusants by night’, Thomas by his sons Richard and Thomas in 1625, and Sibill by ‘unknown’ in 1627.<sup>177</sup> This not only underlines the couple’s determined recusancy but raises suspicions about Richard and Thomas junior and where, and whether, they were legitimately baptised. No Richard son of Thomas Carwardine appeared in the register, and the only Thomas Carwardine baptised was the son of Thomas of Chilston.<sup>178</sup> Such evidence

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<sup>171</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>172</sup> HCA 7002/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/3, Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>173</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/3, Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630..

<sup>174</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>175</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613.

<sup>176</sup> Sometimes the Thomas Carwardines were distinguished in the Madley records: it is usually possible to identify Thomas Carwardine of Brampton, Thomas Carwardine of Forty, Thomas Carwardine of the Castle, Thomas Carwardine of Chilston and Thomas Carwardine of Jitmell, but there were also at least two Thomas Carwardines in Madley, a Thomas Carwardine the weaver at Cublington, and others whose location is not specified.

<sup>177</sup> HCA 7002/3, Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>178</sup> TNA prob11/109, The Will of Thomas Carwardine of Chilston 6 April 1607.

is inconclusive, of course. Richard Carwardine was listed as the recusant son of Thomas and Sibill in 1605: he would need to have been born before 1590 in order to have been the adult by that time and thus eligible for communion – perhaps he had been baptised elsewhere. Thomas may have been baptised in 1595 or 1599, the two years with missing entries in the Madley parish register.<sup>179</sup>

What was the attitude of conforming parishioners to the different choices of their recusant neighbours? Was there approval for those who used the church, and thus obeyed the law (and paid their church fees), but a conscious shunning of those who were not accommodating themselves in this way?<sup>180</sup> Self-evidently, the fact of presentment of suspected Catholic rites betokens opposition, and occasionally it is possible to infer who made a case known to the courts. Thus, it is likely that the keenly Protestant John Baguley, vicar of Kentchurch and Garway, whose arrival in the parishes in 1597 caused an upheaval, was responsible for naming recusant Nicholas Williams who buried ‘Margaret Gache a recusant papist without a minister in despite of the parson’ in 1603, and probably also for naming the Catholic Henry Farmer for ‘burying his wife and children without a minister’ in 1598, and the churchwarden of Garway for burying his recusant mother ‘on Christmas day last, a little before day’ in 1614.<sup>181</sup> However, it was the churchwardens at Kentchurch who identified one of the assistants who failed to present the burial of his own recusant son at Kentchurch in 1629, and at Stretton an assistant who ‘delivered the key’ to the church so that a recusant could be buried did so expressly ‘without the consent of the churchwardens’ in 1631.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Some other examples of Madley Catholics who used the church for ceremonies are discussed below, pp. 266-268.

<sup>180</sup> At Madley in 1603, for example, a total of 7s. 8d. was received for two burials; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book.

<sup>181</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604; HAS HD4/1/173, Acts of Office 1614. See p. 76 for John Baguley.

<sup>182</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630; HAS HD4/1/182, Acts of Office 1631.

Yet, as Marshall concluded from an extensive study of Catholic burials, the records point to widespread collusion rather than to determined presentment of offenders.<sup>183</sup> From 1591 in Herefordshire, when the first certain presentment of Catholic rites of passage was made, to 1638, when records end, only twenty-eight burials, sixty-six baptisms and nineteen marriages involving Catholics (both gentry and plebeian) were reported to the ecclesiastical courts. The absences from the parish registers discussed above hint that the true incidence was under-reported, as do the temporal patterns in presentments, shown on table 4(ii).

*Table 4(ii) Secret burials, baptisms and marriages involving both gentry and plebeian Catholics 1591-1638 (numbers where priests were reported in brackets)*

Year	Burials	Baptisms	Marriages
1591-92	0	0	2
1593-94	0	0	1
1595-96	0	0	0
1597-98 <sup>184</sup>	1	2	0
1599-1600	1	0	1
1601-02	0	0	0
1603-04	1	2 (2)	4 (3)
1605-06	2 (1)	10 (4)	2 (1)
1607-08	1	1	0
1609-10	1	2 (2)	1
1611-12	2	3	0
1613-14	3	6 (1)	2
1615-16	1	3	1
1617-18	0	0	0
1619-20	1	1	1
1621-22	2	3	0
1623-24	1	0	0
1625-26	1	9	2
1627-28	4	5	1
1629-30	1	3	0
1631-2	3	5 (1)	1 (1)
1633-4	0	5 (1)	0
1635-6	1 (1)	7	0
1637-8	1	1	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>19</b>

The little peaks (shaded) in presented clandestine baptisms in 1605-6, 1613-4, and from 1625 to 1628, occur in and, in the case of 1628, just after the years when the presentment of Catholic offences were strongly driven by the post-Whitsun riots scare (1605), by a

<sup>183</sup> Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community', p. 60.

<sup>184</sup> Smith contended that the absence of clandestine Catholic burials and baptisms before 1597 meant that Catholics had conformed before this time, despite earlier presentments for recusancy. He argued that missionaries were strengthening their hold over Catholics by the late 1590s, and in addition confidence was boosted by for toleration with the accession of James I; T. S. Smith, 'Herefordshire Catholics and the Rites of Passage: 1560-1640', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 42 (1978), pp. 235-243, p. 235.

metropolitan visitation at a time when Bishop Robert Bennett had particular concerns about Catholics in his diocese (1614), and by a wave of acute anti-Catholicism in parliament (1625).<sup>185</sup> The larger number of presented baptisms also fits an interpretation of response to pressure because the authorities could be expected to stress the presentment of baptisms given the implication that the parents intended to raise the child as a Catholic.<sup>186</sup>

Collusion in illicit rites of passage by churchwardens is also implicit in the wording of many of the Herefordshire presentments – there were devious comments similar to those that were common when burials came to the attention of the authorities in the very Catholic county of Lancashire.<sup>187</sup> Thus, in four of the presentments for clandestine burial, eleven for secret baptism, and three for covert marriage the churchwardens' claims that they did not know 'by whom' or 'in whose presence' the burials, baptisms or marriage had taken place seem disingenuous. There was a possible cover-up at Thruxton in 1625, for example, where Margaret Smith married Catholic excommunicate John Jenkins of Kingstone 'but when, where or by whom it is not known'.<sup>188</sup>

More evidence of collusion comes from Eaton Bishop in 1626 where it was observed that the old churchwardens had failed to present the clandestine marriage of Mr Robert Kempe and his recusant wife Jane Cardiffe.<sup>189</sup> At Stretton in 1603 the court official found it necessary to warn the churchwardens for not presenting the night-time burial of recusant Roger Cadwallador senior and obliged them to name the recusants who had been present.<sup>190</sup> At Sutton St Michael in 1611 the clerk himself, William Sirrill, 'made the grave wherein Mrs Seabourne was buried' (although Sirrill said he was not present at the burial, which was

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<sup>185</sup> See p. 87 for peaks in Catholic presentments to the church courts in 1605, 1614 and 1625-7. The rise in 1605 might also reflect the relative confidence of Catholics in this period when a toleration was especially hoped for; this argument was put forward by Smith for the higher numbers of baptisms in 1604-1605; Smith, 'Herefordshire Catholics and the rites of passage, 1560-1540', p. 235.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>187</sup> Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community', p. 61.

<sup>188</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>189</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630..

<sup>190</sup> HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604.

conducted by a group of the deceased's servants), and in 1621 at Hampton Bishop it was the curate William Arnett who buried the excommunicated recusant Thomas Giles.<sup>191</sup> At Allensmore in 1627 an unnamed recusant was buried 'by the consent and procurement' of Mr Richard Rogers, who perhaps also 'procured' the burial of recusant Catherine Traunter at Allensmore the following year.<sup>192</sup> Rogers may have been a church papist, as his wife Millicent was a recusant from 1625 to 1630, and was thus probably not a Protestant colluder, but six members of the wider community, not otherwise presented for Catholic offences, attended - and were thus complicit in - Catherine Traunter's funeral.<sup>193</sup> Similarly nine people not in the record as Catholic attended the funeral of recusant Anna Jones of Wellington in 1614 and sixteen with no history of Catholic presentment were at the funeral of recusant Mrs Anna Downfall at Kingstone in 1623.<sup>194</sup> Even more striking is the entry for Kilpeck in 1609 when it was noted that the recusant Margaret Saice 'was buried in a Catholicke place behind the church'.<sup>195</sup> To have acquired this identity the 'Catholicke place' must have been in use, with the knowledge of the whole parish, for some time.

Was the home of the recusant gentry Berringtons at Hope-under-Dinmore, similarly, used regularly for Catholic baptisms? In 1611 Elinor, wife of Mr William Berrington, had a child 'not christened in our parish church', as had Anna, wife of Mr John Streete, and also the non-gentry Mary, wife of John Nicholls, tanner.<sup>196</sup> A second entry about the baptism of Mary Nicholls' child at a court later in the year is obscure, but apparently reads that 'BLANK

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<sup>191</sup> HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611; HAS HD4/1/175, Acts of Office 1616; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630. One other case of burial of a recusant by a minister occurred in 1616 at Monmouth, sometimes included in the Archenfield ecclesiastical court cases, when the vicar buried 'Elizabeth Prosser a recusant' in the churchyard.

<sup>192</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630. Catherine Traunter was the wife of gentleman John Traunter of Clehonger, a neighbouring parish to Allensmore, and she had been presented as a recusant at Clehonger in 1623 and 1624.

<sup>193</sup> HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>194</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618-April 1630. Since Anna Downfall was a recusant, her husband Charles may have been a church papist. Only one other person at the funeral, Thomas Meiricke, was named as a recusant two years later, and just three of the sixteen shared surnames with people presented at other times for Catholic offences.

<sup>195</sup> HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610.

<sup>196</sup> HAS HD4/1/167 Acts of Office 1611.



Berrington widow' was present at the christening of Mary's child.<sup>197</sup> The children of three more plebeians were secretly baptised at Hope-under-Dinmore in 1621.<sup>198</sup> There is nothing more in the record to link these people to the Berringtons, but this is nonetheless an unusual number of baptisms presented from a parish which lay north and east of the Wye and so outside of the more Catholic area of Herefordshire.

Intriguing also is a record from Sollers Hope of 1631. John and Elizabeth Mayo were 'supposed' to have received a woman at their house whose child was born there soon afterwards and was then 'baptised by a seminarie'.<sup>199</sup> When Mayo was examined, he revealed that the woman was called Anne Hodges and that she had been brought to his house by John Pitcher and his son of Madley. Moreover, Pitcher had paid Mayo the handsome sum of 40s.<sup>200</sup> This was perhaps a unique event, but its oddness raises a suspicion that there might have been traffic in such baptisms not otherwise presented by parishioners who were turning a blind eye. It should be noted, too, that the death of Robert Jones in 1615 was brought on by an accident 'as he hastened through the night' to baptise a baby, and that the Jesuits of St Francis Xavier's claimed, in their annual letter of 1624, to have administered twenty baptisms that year.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612.

<sup>198</sup> HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621.

<sup>199</sup> HAS HD4/1/182, Acts of Office 1631.

<sup>200</sup> The Madley parish register has a John 'Prichard' who married in 1588 and baptised a son John in 1593, and a 'John Prichard senior' who died in 1636. John 'Prichard/Pichard' and his wife Joanna had four children between 1620 and 1637. This locates candidates for 'John Pitcher' and his son, who visited the Mayos, at Madley at the right time. Furthermore, John 'Pitchard' of Madley, presumably the younger, was mentioned in 1619 for 'incontinence' with Alice the wife of William Edwin and for clandestine marriage with his own wife Joan; 'John Pichard junior' was also accused of not paying his church fees in 1620; John 'Pitchard' was excommunicated in 1624 for 'harbouring Alice Lewis unlawfully begotten with child'. If these were indeed the same men as visited the Mayos, it is possible to read Catholic sympathy into their record. Perhaps Pitchard was intending Alice Lewis as another case of traffic in baptism, but this is probably pushing the evidence too far; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>201</sup> T. McCoog, 'Robert Jones (c.1564-1615)', *ONDB* (online edn., September 2004); SJ Archives, Rome, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 408; SJ Archives, Rome, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* VII, p. 1104.

The records reveal so little, however, that interpretation remains uncertain. The marriage records are almost always uninformative. It is usually noted only that the couple had made a clandestine marriage, making it impossible to draw inferences unless the parties were also presented for Catholic offences. Thirty-five baptism cases, also, state no more than that a child was not christened or baptised in the parish church or that the parents ‘refused’ to bring the child for baptism. This could mean that parishioners were not prepared to tolerate the offence and had tried to persuade the parents to take the child to church to be baptised, or, equally, the brevity could indicate unwillingness to identify Catholic rites.

Difficulties in interpretation are underlined by a vicar’s entry in Wellington’s parish register. The church court record for 19 December 1614 states that ‘Thomas Jones, weaver, buried Anna Jones being an excommunicated recusant’. Those present at the funeral are then listed.<sup>202</sup> In the Wellington parish register, however, is a ‘memorandum’ that ‘one Anne Jones a recusant was interred by some of her frendes in the night-tyme in the churchyard ... but by a stricte commaunde of the Chancellor was taken up the next Sunday after and buried on the highway neare the Buttes’.<sup>203</sup> Confusingly, the date given for the funeral in the register is ‘the 4 day of January 1614’ (that is, 1615 by New Style dating), but, this discrepancy apart, the extra information given by the vicar suggests the courts may not have been as uninterested in clandestine burials as their brief records imply.<sup>204</sup> The scarcity of references in the ecclesiastical records, alternatively, may indicate, as Smith concluded, that officialdom was not generally inclined to do more than take note of recusant burials beyond identifying who was present.<sup>205</sup> There is only one other example in the records of a ‘savage and intolerant’ attitude towards recusant burial, which also occurred in 1614, when the

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<sup>202</sup> HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614.

<sup>203</sup> HAS AG92/1, Wellington General Register 1558–1696.

<sup>204</sup> Aveling notes the typicality of brief Consistory court entries in Yorkshire in this period, compared to the fuller entries of the High Commission courts; H. Aveling *The Handle and the Axe: the Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976); H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in York, 1558-1791* (St Albans, 1970), p. 41.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

officers of the ecclesiastical court ordered the body of Maude Draper, widow of Sarnesfield, 'to be taken up and ... be buried in ... the heighwaie, diche or common field to the terror and example of those who doe persist in the Sentence of excommunication'.<sup>206</sup>

If collusion with regard to rites of passage were indeed widespread, this is another pointer to inter-confessional 'getting along', a determination 'to do what was best, by means official or unofficial, to resolve controversial problems and achieve community'.<sup>207</sup> But many in Herefordshire still chose to 'defuse suspicion' via church papism. As Walsham has argued, the preparedness of some to attend church and thus remain in charity with their neighbours, despite fundamental differences in matters of faith, is likely to have played an important role in fostering practical cooperation, and, indeed, in enabling them to 'get on'.<sup>208</sup> Is this what yeoman John Grubb and widow Elizabeth Davies of Ledbury were doing? The preambles to their wills, made in 1604 and 1607 respectively, contrast markedly with the otherwise neutral and Protestant will preambles which survive from Ledbury.<sup>209</sup> Both bequeathed their souls 'to all the holy company of heaven', which, according to Litzenberger's analysis of over 8,000 Gloucestershire wills between 1541 and 1580, places them firmly at the 'traditional' end of the Catholic-Protestant spectrum.<sup>210</sup> And what of Edward Cowper, archdeacon from 1567 until his resignation in 1578, and cathedral treasurer

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<sup>206</sup> Smith cites HAS Acts of Office Volume 69, using the volume number given on microfilm rolls prepared for a International Genealogical Index project. This is HD4/1/174. The reference was not found in a search for this thesis; Smith, 'Herefordshire Catholics and the rites of passage', p. 239.

<sup>207</sup> D. Cressy, 'Who buried Mrs Horseman? Excommunication, Accommodation and Silence', in D. Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 118-137, p. 137.

<sup>207</sup> Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community', p. 60.

<sup>208</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. xiv; Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 10; Sheils, 'Getting on and getting along', p. 68.

<sup>209</sup> Volunteers for Victoria County History have transcribed all surviving wills from Ledbury from 1560 to 1620 and made them available on-line. Of 104 surviving wills from Ledbury made between 1580 and 1620, twenty-two fall into Litzenberger's Protestant category, their testators 'trusting only' or 'trusting assuredly' in their salvation, or, occasionally, even more confidently 'nothing doubting' that their soul will be received into glory by the 'infinite mercy set forth in the precious blood ... of Jesus Christ'. The two cited here are the only wills with apparently Catholic preambles from 1586, when the church court records begin for Ledbury, to 1620; Victoria County History, *Ledbury Wills and Inventories, 1561-1580, 1581-1600 and 1601-1620*, [www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/items/ledbury](http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/items/ledbury).

<sup>210</sup> HAS 16/2/15, The Will of Elizabeth Davies alias Weaver widow 1607; TNA prob/11/112, The Will of John Grubb yeoman 1604; Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, Appendix A.

of ornaments and vestments from 1583 to 1596?<sup>211</sup> Was he one of those Catholics who chose church papism to enable him to continue to retain office and influence in post-Reformation society? The indications are slight but persuasive. As well as being archdeacon and then cathedral treasurer, Cowper became master of St Katherine's Hospital at Ledbury in 1562, an appointment made by the dean and chapter, among whom, in Bishop John's Scory's words of 1564, were many 'dissemblers and rancke papistes'.<sup>212</sup> In 1575 Cowper was one of the executors of the will of Catholic Richard Willison, and, even more suggestively, in 1591, of Willison's widow Anne, also a Catholic, who referred her legacy to the poor 'wholy to (his) discretion' because he 'especiallie ... knoweth best my meaning therein'.<sup>213</sup> James Yaydon was another church official who was perhaps a church papist. He was a self-declared public notary who acted, at least once, in 1594, as notary in the dean's court.<sup>214</sup> It was not until 1602, a few years before his death (in 1607) that Yaydon was named as 'an obstinate recusant who does not receive the sacrament'.<sup>215</sup> It is noteworthy, also, that James Yaydon wished to be buried 'near the stayers ascending into the chapel of our blessed lady over the north door of the said cathedral church'.<sup>216</sup> Had he slipped into recusancy from church papistry in old age? Anthony Pembridge, esquire, of Wootton manor in Wellington, was another who took high office at the price, it seems, of token conformity. Pembridge was MP for Hereford in 1597, and from 1605 to 1610. When accused of recusancy in 1590 the Earl of Essex vouched for his conformity and nominated him for the parliamentary seat in 1597.<sup>217</sup> But Ann,

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<sup>211</sup> Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses*, pp. 44, 53.

<sup>212</sup> Hillaby, *The Book of Ledbury*, p. 89; TNA SP 12/19, f. 45, Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 17 August 1561.

<sup>213</sup> TNA prob/11/57, The Will of Richard Willison 1575; TNA prob/11/78, The Will of Anne Willison 1591. Anne left a considerable amount to the poor: 30 bushells of rye to the poor of Madley, Eaton Bishop, Breynton and Ledbury, a 'further distribution' in her codicil, and £20 to be distributed at her burial. Although she could not be open in a legal document, this reads as if she was expecting prayers for her soul in turn, in Catholic tradition.

<sup>214</sup> TNA prob/11/110, The Will of Jacob Yaydon 1607. The names of officials at the Dean's Court do not often appear in the records.

<sup>215</sup> HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602.

<sup>216</sup> TNA prob/11/110, The Will of Jacob Yaydon 1607.

<sup>217</sup> A. Thrush and J. Ferris (eds.), *The House of Commons, 1604-1629* V (Cambridge, 2010), p. 633.

Pembridge's wife, was a recusant, presented to the church courts between 1600 and 1611, and she was the reason that Pembridge was purged from the Hereford bench in 1605 following the Whitsun riots.<sup>218</sup> The libel found attached to the door of his Hereford house in 1608 was perhaps due to continued suspicions about his religious allegiance.<sup>219</sup> The phrasing of the preamble to his will, interestingly, although ambiguous, might indicate the repentant appeal to God of one who had not been comfortable in the Church of England. He 'prayed ... that he may be a true and faithful member of (God's) holie catholicke church'.<sup>220</sup>

Pembridge's executor was his brother-in-law, John Breynton the younger, gentleman, of Stretton, also a probable church papist.<sup>221</sup> In 1595 Breynton had to balance his faith against desire for financial security when he set his sights on marriage to well-off Mary Ashford, daughter of Humphrey Ashford, esquire, of Heythrop in Oxfordshire, who had a dowry of £500 and an income of £100 a year from lands.<sup>222</sup> Given that John's father was one of those named as 'prepared in the interests of Mary Queen of Scots' in 1574, and was called a 'mock of preachers' by the bishop in 1577, Mary's friends justifiably suspected Breynton junior 'to be inclined to favour Popery and superstitious religion secretlie'.<sup>223</sup> Indeed, when they charged him with this, Breynton admitted as much – he 'did renownce openly his inclination thereunto', and he 'vehemently' promised further 'that he would in no sorte seduce his wieff from that fayth that she had been brought up in being the religion nowe allowed of.' Breynton's renunciation of Catholicism was spurious, however: Mary testified that 'he did labor to withdraw (her) mynd ... from (her) former possessed religion and to that

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., p. 633; HAS HD4/1/158; Acts of Office 1600-1602 to HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612. Ann was Anthony's second wife; she was the daughter of recusants John Breynton senior and his wife and the widow of Thomas Baskerville of Pontrilas; Siddons, *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634*, p. 43.

<sup>219</sup> Thrush and Ferris, *The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, p. 633.

<sup>220</sup> TNA prob/11/116, The Will of Anthony Pembridge gentleman of Wootton 1609. Thrush and Ferris also remark that Pembridge's wording was ambiguous and note that he 'hedged his bets', hoping too to be counted as 'one of the elect' on the Day of Judgement; Thrush and Ferris, *The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, p. 634.

<sup>221</sup> TNA prob/11/116, The Will of Anthony Pembridge gentleman of Wootton 1609.

<sup>222</sup> TNA STAC 8/6/9, Breynton v. Walsh 1605.

<sup>223</sup> Wainwright, 'Two Lists of Influential Persons Apparently Prepared in the Interests of Mary Queen of Scots, 1574 and 1582', p. 114; Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577', p. 78; TNA SP 12/118, ff. 17-18, Bishop Scory to the Council, 2 November 1577; TNA STAC 8/6/9, Breynton v. Walsh 1605.

end and contrary to his promise did restrain (her) from hearing of sermons'.<sup>224</sup> It seems that the promise of the dowry had fuelled the original pretence. It is probably not cynical, also, to interpret Breynton's later behaviour in 1609 as that of a church papist trying to 'get on' by publicly establishing his Church of England credentials. Breynton spread the word that his neighbour, gentleman Thomas Bridges of Sugwas (who had been one of the high sheriff's 'highly Jesuited' Catholics in 1605) was 'a man of evil speeches against the Mynistry for which the Reverend Father in god Robert Bishop of Hereford called him to examine him and put him to answer the same'.<sup>225</sup> Thomas Bridges, Breynton alleged, not only 'cast out divers undecent and unseemly speeches of the said reverend father but also ... sought out to combine himself with such as he thought evil-affected to the said reverend father and did endeavour to gather articles to exhibit to the privy council against him'. Breynton, with his good-Protestant hat on, claimed he had tried to make Bridges mend his ways. Bridges' anger at the imputations led to a clash between the two and a legal dispute which went first to assizes, then to the Council in the Marches and finally to Star Chamber.<sup>226</sup>

Can any of those of lower social status than these gentlemen be identified as church papists? Most of the seventy-eight grumblers and abusers, mentioned above, whose protests reached the church courts of Herefordshire between 1580 and 1638, were not presented for failure to attend church or receive the communion and did not appear again in the church court records. It is likely, however, that at least some of them formed the outer edge of the church papist 'penumbra' around absolute recusants: they had found the courage to make their strong statements and they probably did not have any radical change of heart.<sup>227</sup> One, certainly, John Fecknam of Ross, showed his continued contempt for the church by allowing his mastiff dog into church on the Sabbath. Moreover, he mocked his fellow parishioners by

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<sup>224</sup> TNA STAC 8/6/9, Breynton v. Walsh 1605.

<sup>225</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605; TNA STAC 8/68/21, Bridges v. Breynton 1609. Bridges was of Sugwas in Eaton Bishop.

<sup>226</sup> TNA STAC 8/68/21, Bridges v. Breynton 1609.

<sup>227</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 6.

claiming that his dog was more devout than they were, for ‘assone the little bell did ringe his dogge would come to church’.<sup>228</sup>

Another set of plebeian men whose commitment to the Church of England must be suspect are those whose wives were recusants for a long period of time. Unsurprisingly, there are frequently no other pointers to their religious allegiance. William Bigerton of Kilpeck, for example, was not presented to the church courts for Catholic offences but his wife Elizabeth was a recusant from 1600 to 1625.<sup>229</sup> William was probably of yeoman or husbandman status, as he was a churchwarden at Kilpeck in 1605. Had he opted to protect the family’s resources and reputation while his wife perpetuated ‘forbidden practices’ in the home, a solution to the difficulties of the times which Walsham has suggested may have been common among the middling sort, as they had much to lose by ‘ballooning fines’?<sup>230</sup> Or did he not share his spouse’s views, and was perhaps, even, surrendering ‘weak-kneed’ to the piety of a domineering wife?<sup>231</sup> Sheils has argued that in Egton in north Yorkshire, some recusant wives were unable to persuade their conforming husbands.<sup>232</sup>

Occasionally, however, covert Catholicism can be suspected. Thus, both Elizabeth Powell of Orcop and her husband Richard, husbandman and cottager, were listed as ‘recusant papists’ in 1625, yet in 1613 she had been alone in being presented for not receiving the communion, and in 1616 she had been on the Bishop of Hereford’s list of women who were ‘inhabiting with their husbands upon the land whether freehold or copyhold’ but whose their ‘husbands be not detected of recusancie’.<sup>233</sup> Similarly, yeoman John Edwards of St Weonard’s was not presented until 1621 for absence from church or for receiving the communion, but his wife Jane had been named a recusant in 1613, and, like Elizabeth Powell,

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<sup>228</sup> HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610.

<sup>229</sup> HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1599-1600 to HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>230</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 78, 80; M. Rowlands, ‘Recusant Women 1560-1640’, in M. Prior, (ed.), *Women in Society 1500-1800* (London, 1985), pp. 149-180; p. 161.

<sup>231</sup> Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 155-156; Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>232</sup> Sheils, ‘Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry’, pp. 114, 119.

<sup>233</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop’s Register.

was one of those on the bishop's list in 1616.<sup>234</sup> Both these men may, of course, have been converts around the time that they were presented, rather than church papists before this time. Another elusive candidate for church papism whose wife was a persistent recusant is yeoman John Henley, whose wife, Elizabeth was named as a recusant at Yarkhill from 1608 until 1629; John was not presented, but in 1619 he was one of the witnesses to the will of the recusant Thomas Beale, gentleman.<sup>235</sup> Both Beale and Henley were tenants of Dame Bridget Bodenham, 'an imperious dame of high stomach and stirring humour, who countenances all priests and recusants', according to the Bishop of Hereford in 1605, and presented to the ecclesiastical courts for the first time, with her household, in 1625 that 'she had never been to the church at Dinedor (her home parish) to hear divine service'.<sup>236</sup> It is a tenuous link, but arguably strengthens the case for John Henley's church papism. Perhaps, too, yeoman John Smith of Wilbrook in Peterchurch was a church papist. His wife Ann was presented for recusancy from 1605 to 1627. John Smith appeared at court in 1609, cited for recusancy, when he alleged that he frequented church, but he did not come before the church courts again.<sup>237</sup> Were his fellow-parishioners distrustful of him only because of Ann Smith's recusancy, or, like Mr John Breynton's prospective in-laws, did they have other grounds for suspicion?

In some cases, there is a little extra evidence that makes it likely that the husband of a recusant wife was indeed a church papist. Blanche Waythen of Kentchurch was a recusant from 1595 to 1605: her husband Jacob had two recusant servants and in 1605 needed to ask

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<sup>234</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop's Register.

<sup>235</sup> HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609 to HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1626-1630; TNA prob11/136, The Will of Thomas Beale 1619.

<sup>236</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS AL/19/16, Bishop's Register; TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppe (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online.

<sup>237</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.



for absolution for harbouring ‘Joan Harrye a recusant’.<sup>238</sup> George Smith of Kingstone, whose wife Elizabeth ‘obstinately and wilfully’ refused to come to church and ‘would not allow the use of the rites and ceremonies established’, similarly, permitted Jane Barroll ‘to depart awaie out of his house being delivered there of a Child before she was purified’ in 1605.<sup>239</sup>

It is probable, also, that several men had been church papists who showed a distinct lack of commitment to the Church of England prior to being identified as Catholics: Nicholas Williams of Kentchurch was presented for ‘burying ... a recusant papist without a minister in despite of the parson’ in 1598, but was not identified as a recusant himself until 1605; John Gwillim of Orcop removed Jewell’s works from the church in 1616 and refused the communion in 1625; Roger Lace of Llanrothal failed to take the book of reformed recusants to the ecclesiastical court when he was churchwarden in 1616, and was a recusant in 1625.<sup>240</sup> Both Anthony Phelpottes of Kentchurch and his wife Joan were probably moving out of church papism into recusancy when they claimed to be receiving the communion in a neighbouring parish in 1627: in 1629 they were excommunicated for non-attendance.<sup>241</sup> There were cases, too, of people refusing to pay their church lewys (church rates), or to send their children for catechism, who were later presented for non-attendance or not receiving the communion, and cases of people, men in particular, who went in and out of recusancy, but were on record as attending church in between times – abusing the vicar or a churchwarden, or acting as a compurgator in court. William Powell Hawkins of Kentchurch, for example, refused to pay lewys in 1605 and was identified as a recusant three years later. Geoffrey Lane, also of Kentchurch, refused to pay his lewys in 1625 and was excommunicated for

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<sup>238</sup> Jacob Waythen’s servants were recusants in 1586, 1600 and 1605; HAS HD4/1/152, Acts of Office, 1586-1587; HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>239</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606. Catholic women might refuse to be churched after childbirth because it was a ceremony conducted ‘according to the book of common prayer’; The Visitation articles of Archbishop Richard Bancroft, 1605, quoted in Fincham, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, I, p. 12.

<sup>240</sup> HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1597-1598; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>241</sup> HAS HD4/1/179, Acts of Office 1626-1627; HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630.

absence from the eucharist service in both 1631 and 1632. Leonard Thomas of Kentchurch was presented for not frequenting church in 1603, the year when he also made a clandestine marriage. He was probably conforming in 1605 when he was presented not for non-attendance but for abusing the minister, yet in 1609 he was one of several excommunicated recusants. Henry Williams of Llanrothal acted as a compurgator in 1616 but was presented as a recusant at a later court in the same year.<sup>242</sup> The unease of some women, too, like Catherine Eynon of Tibberton, is revealed in their moving in and out of church papism: Catherine was presented for not receiving the communion in 1612 and for not frequenting church in 1626, but she can be presumed to have attended church in 1621 when her sole presented offence was grinding corn on the Sabbath.

That male church papism was indeed prevalent in parishes south and west of the Wye is suggested by table 4(iii), below, which shows that many of those presented as individuals in any one year were women.

**Table 4(iii) Number of individual women presented to the church courts compared to overall presentments of individuals from parishes with high presentments of Catholics<sup>243</sup>**  
*Entries where women were in a majority have been highlighted*

	Eaton Bishop	Garway	Kentchurch	Kilpeck	Llanrothal	Madley	Orcop	Tibberton	Welsh Newton
1586		4/12	1/3	2/7			2/5		
1592	2/4					3/7			
1595	0/2		6/7	1/1		2/4		0/1	
1598		4/7	18/30	0/2	1/4		1/1		
1603	3/5		1/2			2/9			5/7
1605	4/5	2/6	14/23	7/12	5/7	6/9	7/10	0/12	12/15
1608	3/4	7/9		2/3					
1609			9/14				8/8	0/2	3/3
1611	4/8			3/4	5/9	2/4	5/6	0/1	6/8
1612	5/9								
1613	6/9		9/13	4/7	6/12	4/4	6/7	2/5	
1614		3/3					3/4	2/6	
1616					6/23				
1621	0/1		2/5					2/2	
1625	3/8	7/11	2/2	6/8		6/9	9/13	0/3	
1626		6/8	1/9			6/12		2/2	

<sup>242</sup> HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1616; HAS HD4/1/175, Acts of Office 1616; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>243</sup> Parishes which presented seven or more clusters of non-gentry Catholics have been selected. Where there is no entry against a year, there were either no presentments from that parish, or no individuals were presented for Catholic offences.

Of probable significance, too, and pointing to Catholic disquiet, is that all but four of the highlighted entries on table 4(iii) occur in or after 1605. There are a few instances after 1605 where women were not in the majority, most notably at Tibberton, but at Eaton Bishop, Garway, Kentchurch, Kilpeck, Madley, Orcop and Welsh Newton, women are in the majority in most years.<sup>244</sup> This pattern suggests a degree of retrenchment after the events of the Whitsun riots, and perhaps, too, a reaction to the Gunpowder Plot. One man perhaps affected by events and concerned more about recriminations after his participation in the riots than about ‘getting on’, was John Powell of Kilpeck. Powell was at the mass for Ales Wellington at Treville and had been armed with a forest bill at the ambush of the Justices of the Peace, and his monthly attendance at mass in Treville, his marriage, performed by seminary priest Roger Cadwallador, and the baptism of two of his children by a Catholic midwife, underline the strength of his Catholic commitment.<sup>245</sup> He disappeared from the record after the riots but his wife continued a recusant.<sup>246</sup> Similarly, Thomas Chabnor of Kingstone, who had been at Ales Wellington’s funeral, and William Phillip of Garway, who had attended mass at the Darren, were not presented to the church courts for Catholic offences after 1605, but both of their wives were subsequently named as recusants.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Tibberton stands out as an exceptional parish in several ways. It was small, with no resident Catholic gentry, but had a number of Catholic subsidy-paying yeomen who perhaps wielded disproportionate influence; several of them became churchwardens, see page 231. The predominance of women in the 1595 and 1598 records from Kentchurch may indicate an attempt to escape the determined reporting of Catholics by the newly arrived minister, John Baguley.

<sup>245</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>246</sup> Margaret Powell, wife of John, was a recusant from 1605 to 1614; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/174, Acts of Office 1614.

<sup>247</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Elizabeth Chabnor, wife of Thomas, refused to be purified after childbirth in 1609 and was a recusant in 1611 and 1612; Alice wife of William Phillips was a recusant from 1611 to 1625; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612 to HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

It is possible, of course, that these three men conformed – Powell, in particular, for he had been arrested after the riots and had taken the oath of submission.<sup>248</sup> A fourth man, Henry Price of Madley, however, had also been gaoled for his part in the riots, and seemingly conformed, yet his allegiance became clear when he was presented for recusancy again in 1624 and 1625.<sup>249</sup> William Browne, also of Madley, had been heavily involved in the riots but then apparently practised church papism in his home parish, only to reappear in the records at Bodenham in 1611, where he and his wife Catherine were ‘received into the house of John Hare’, their son-in-law, and ‘remained there a quarter of a year and never to church.’<sup>250</sup>

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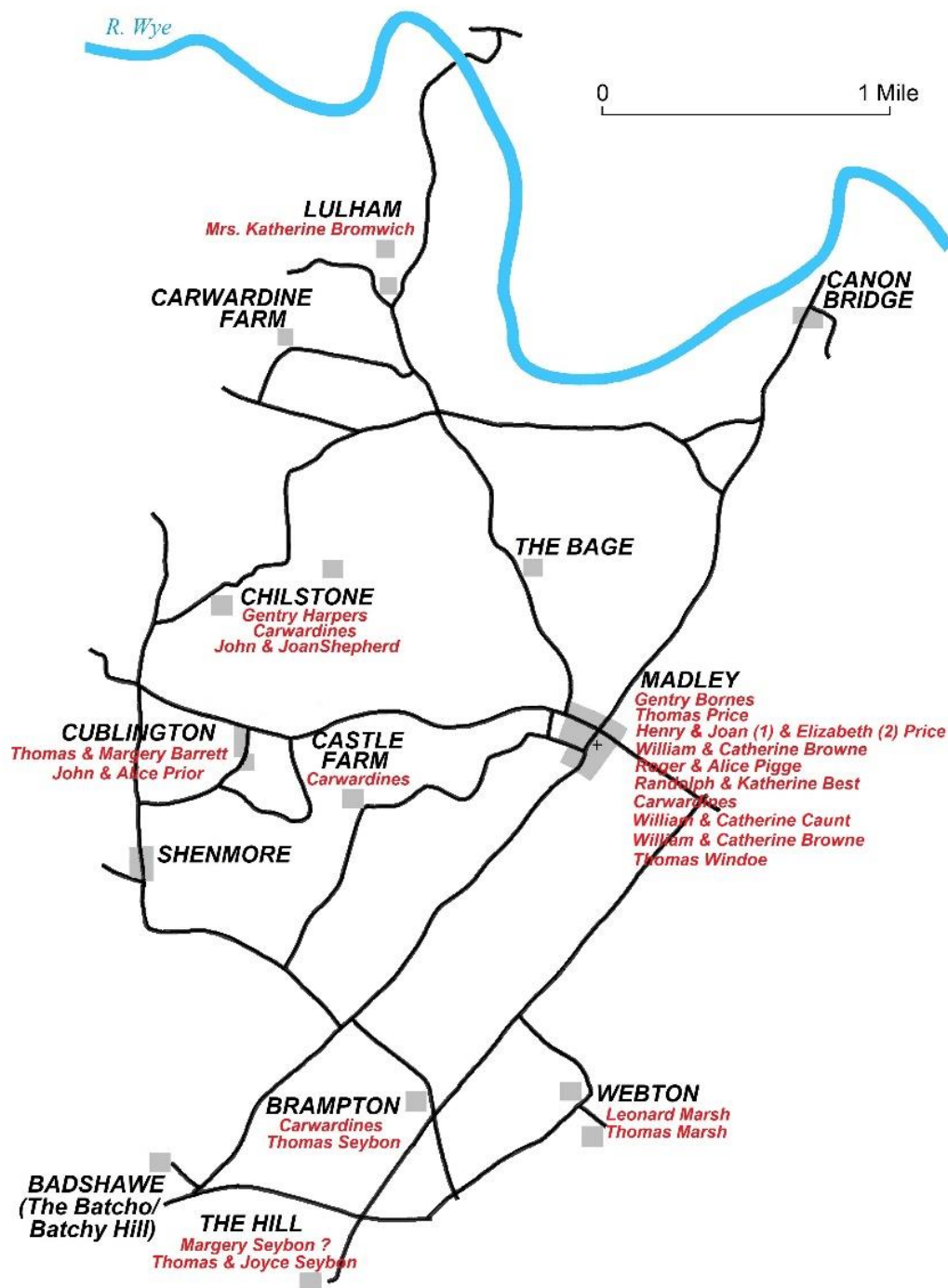
<sup>248</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

<sup>249</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Henry Price’s wife Joan was a recusant in 1613; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>250</sup> William Browne was at Ales Wellington’s funeral and mass, and was one of those armed at the ambush at Treville; in 1611 the court was told that William Browne and his wife had ‘come hither (to Bodenham) to visit their daughter in childbed’ and had then ‘departed to Madley where they do dwell’; TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.

## Getting Along in Madley Parish

*Map XVII Madley: places of residence in the parish of known Catholics*



A good set of churchwardens' accounts survives for Madley, a parish just two and a half miles from Allensmore, where Ales Wellington's illegal burial took place, and home to five Whitsun rioters, providing evidence that throws additional light on inter-confessional relations.<sup>251</sup> There was obvious tension here immediately prior to the riots when yeomen Thomas Preece and William Caunt, and Caunt's wife Catherine, had been deeply involved in subversive activities. All three were on the bishop's list of 'principall and most daungerous recusantes' in 1604; Preece was massing clerk to the priest George Williams; Caunt was party to dealings between Williams and seminary Roger Cadwallador and a recipient of a copy of the letter 'exhibited to the kinges majestie at his first entrance by papistes', and both he and Preece had used the content of the letter to 'spread false rumours of tolleracion for liberty of conscience'.<sup>252</sup> A witness at George Williams' examination said Williams had 'set on' Thomas Preece to persuade 'twoo persons to be Catholike', but this is unlikely to have been the full extent to which Preece was causing trouble in his local community.<sup>253</sup> Caunt and Preece, not surprisingly, both went on to take part in the riots: they were armed at the Treville ambush and both had attended Ales Wellington's funeral and funeral mass. Three other Madley men were also caught up in events: Henry Price alias Tailor had been at the funeral 'with a bill' and at the mass 'the same daie'; William Browne joined in the funeral and the ambush, and Thomas Windoe was one of the rescuers of Leonard Marsh who fled to avoid punishment.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book.

<sup>252</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocese of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste.

<sup>253</sup> TNA CP 191/56, f. 104, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste. The letter is perhaps the Stowe manuscript, BL Stowe MS 180, f. 3. I am grateful to Howard Barlow for this reference.

<sup>254</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 121, The names of some of the persons assembled to encounter the sheriff and Justices upon Corpus Christi daie, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The

There were other tensions in Madley at this time likely to have been connected to the troubles. The cleric, John Waters, who had officiated as vicar in the parish since at least 1576, and presumably until the appointment of Thomas Cookesey in 1595, was still ‘writing sessments’ for the parish early in 1605, but he then ‘relinquished the order of priesthood’ and went to ‘live as a layman on his own lands’.<sup>255</sup> Another who retreated from commitments was churchwarden John Shepard, about whom his fellow warden Walter Smyth complained bitterly because, just before the riots, on 17 March 1605, Shepard ‘gave over dealying in the office’, forcing Smyth to the considerable extra expense of being the sole provider of the bread and wine at Easter (13s. 6d.), and of paying a fine (5s. 7d.) for ‘want of bringing the regester booke within the moneth’, which Shepard himself was meant to have done.<sup>256</sup> There is no evidence that the cleric Waters was a covert Catholic, but the abandonment of his vocation at this time must be suspect.<sup>257</sup> John Shepard’s adherence to Catholicism, however, is not in doubt. He had been presented as a recusant to the Privy Council by the dean of Hereford in 1595, received a valuable legacy from his recusant landlord John Harper esquire in 1597, and was presented again to the ecclesiastical courts as a recusant in the autumn of 1605.<sup>258</sup> It is a reasonable surmise that he could not reconcile his religious convictions with serving as warden at a time when Catholics in his parish were clearly not ‘getting along’ with their neighbours.

Another source of tension, perhaps connected to local Catholics, was the dancing and ‘plaieing’ in Madley churchyard, reported at the metropolitan visitation which followed the

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names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>255</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register, 1558-1685. Thomas Cookesey was appointed vicar of Madley in 1595 and remained in post until his death in 1607. In 1576 a record made by John Waters in the parish register stated that ‘I John Waters received in baptism John Carwardine son of Thomas Carwardine of Castle and his wife Aloicia’.

<sup>256</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book.

<sup>257</sup> The same thing happened in the nearby parish of Vowchurch where William Driver, clerk, was presented in 1605 ‘for relinquishing his priesthood and living as a layman’; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>258</sup> HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595; TNA prob11/90, The Will of John Harper esquire 1597. John Harper gave Shepard ‘so many Romes of my mansion house of Chyldestone as he now or late enioyed’ plus the ‘demeasnelandes of the said howse at the same rent as he had’.

Whitsun riots. Walsham noted that ‘collisions over the contested symbols of merry England were symptomatic of a kind of religious intolerance, examples of inter-confessional conflict interpreted in the broadest sense’.<sup>259</sup> Interesting at Madley, aside from the fact of the presentment of music and dancing in a year, 1605, when Catholic presentments were numerous in the parish (as well as more widely in both the Hereford and Archenfield deaneries), is the key role of Catholics.<sup>260</sup> The dancers presented were young men, ranging in age from thirteen to twenty-two: none was ever presented for Catholic offences, although there is a slender Catholic connection in that two were nephews of William Caunt. Those who played the music were Henry Price alias Tailor, mentioned above and who was to be fined £6 and gaoled for three months for his part in the riots, and Roger Pigge, who had had ‘a child christened by a seminarie priest ... about a year past’. Both men also ‘suffer(ed) men to tiple and lurke in (their) house(s) at time of divine service’.<sup>261</sup> Were they deliberately nurturing Catholicism?

Contrary, perhaps, to expectation, each of the men providing leadership to non-gentry Catholics were not top yeomen but men of humbler status. They were all church rate-payers in the parish of Madley (there were eight townships in the parish in addition to Madley village), but, as shown on table 4(iv), Caunt and Preece were middling payers and Henry Price and Pigge paid the lowest rate.<sup>262</sup> Their names are highlighted in dark grey on the table, and the names of six others presented for Catholic offences in 1605, are highlighted in a lighter shade.

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<sup>259</sup> Walsham, *Charitable hatred*, p.115.

<sup>260</sup> See Table 2(xi), for the rise in the number of presentments in the Hereford and Archenfield deaneries in 1605.

<sup>261</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>262</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book.



*Table 4(iv): Status of church-rate-payers in Madley village 1605<sup>263</sup>*

	Amount paid in d.	Comments
It' of Abraham Carwardinfferme	60	
It' of John Carwardine of Madley	48	
It' of Walter Caunte for Madley and Gitmill	40	
It' of Willia' Seybon	32	
It' rec of the Landes of Willia' Carwardine	24	
It' of Thomas Goughe	20	
It' of Wm Caunte	20	
It' of Walter Smythe [ and another iij d]	13 (16)	
It' of Thomas Preece	12	
It' of the Landes late Willia' Wicksteede	12	
It' of Henry Steevens [and another ij d]	8 (10)	
It' of Walter Carwardine	8	
It' of Thomas Carwardine de Forty	6	
It' of Thomas Tomkins	6	
It' of John Voughan	4	
It' of John Streyford	4	
It' of widdowe Love	4	
It' of James Tomkins	4	
It' of John Tomkins	4	
It' of John Kinnersley	4	
It' of Henry Carwardine	2	
It' of Arthur Jones	2	
It' of John Gough	2	
It' of George Carwardine	2	
It' of Walter Kinnersley	2	
It' of Roger Pigge	2	
It' of Henry Price alias Tailor	2	
It' of Willia' Davies	2	
It' of Richard Griffith	2	
It' of Roger Medmore	2	
It' of John Payne	2	
It' of Thomas Windowe	2	
It' of Thomas Barret	2	Cublington township
It' of John Prior	2	Cublington township
It' of William Browne	1	

Yet, other than the Whitsun riots, few incidents presented to the church courts from Madley were motivated by religious tension. Roger Hide, though not on record for Catholic offences, 'quarrelled in the churchyard with the minister and behaved himself verie disorderly

<sup>263</sup> John Shepard did not pay rates in 1605 but had paid 9d. at Chilston township in 1597, a year when Thomas Preece paid 6d.; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

and rudelie', but this also occurred at the tense time of Whitsunday 1605.<sup>264</sup> There was more dancing, in 1608, 1619 and 1622 – in 1622 Roger Pigge was again 'playing on his instrument' – and in 1625 four people were accused of 'jangling and prating' during the service, but this is all.<sup>265</sup> The evidence is, rather, for 'getting along'. William Caunt was paid in 1602 for carrying clay for the repair of the churchyard wall, a year when, with Elizabeth I's death clearly imminent, he was most probably part of the subversive Catholic network, and in the same year William Browne (who was at Ales Wellington's funeral and mass, and armed at the Treville ambush) supplied leather and made baldricks for bell repairs, baldricks being the leather gear and appurtenances from which the bell clapper was suspended.<sup>266</sup> William Browne, who was not presented again for Catholic offences at Madley but was reported in his daughter's parish for not attending church in 1611 and so no doubt remained committed to the Catholic faith, was also paid for supplying lime for the church in 1609.<sup>267</sup> Roger Pigge, who played several times in the churchyard, made five journeys to fetch lime from Bullinghope, near Hereford, in 1618.<sup>268</sup> Thomas Windoe, a recusant in 1605 and another who joined the Treville ambush, and William Caunt, still on record as a recusant in 1640, appeared as old men at the ages of 73 and 80 respectively, as witnesses alongside other parishioners in a dispute over lands in Preston-on-Wye in 1637.<sup>269</sup> Although aged witnesses were prized in the legal defence of customary rights, it is of interest that Windoe, and particularly Caunt, were included: other aged witnesses were available – nineteen witnesses made depositions in the case and of these another seven were seventy years old or over.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>265</sup> HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/177, Acts of Office 1618-1619; HAS HD4/1/172, Acts of Office 1621; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>266</sup> TNA SP 14/14, ff. 117-121, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book; Cane, *The Churchwarden Accounts of the Parish of Madley*, p. 388.

<sup>267</sup> HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>268</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>269</sup> HAS 5168, The Delahay dispute 1637.

<sup>270</sup> The seven witnesses, besides Caunt and Windoe, who were aged seventy or more were Richard Colcombe yeoman of Preston aged seventy, Thomas Hide yeoman of Preston aged seventy, Roger Madox yeoman of Canon Bridge aged seventy, John Carwardine gentleman of Chilston aged three score and twelve, John

Madley's Catholics were also accepted members of their community in sickness or in their old age when they were unable to support themselves. Thomas Seybon of the Hill, for example, who had been a recusant from 1605 to 1613, was paid 17s. for his maintenance in 1624 (he died in 1625); Alice Prior, perhaps a church papist (it was she who made a suspect clandestine marriage in 1593), was paid maintenance for her daughter Mary after 1621 when she was widowed; and Randle Best, principal recusant in 1604, 'bold seducer of others' in 1605, and still a recusant in 1625, was paid 4s., 'being sick', in 1636.<sup>271</sup> These payments came from the common purse and seem to have been administered by the churchwardens, and thus with the consent of the parish as a whole. Despite occasional references to overseers of the poor in the churchwardens' accounts – 4d. for a warrant in 1603, for example, or a payment to a John Taylor 'by appointment of the overseers of the poore' in 1623 and just one suggestion of the existence of a separate overseers' account - the churchwardens itemised the payments carefully in their accounts.<sup>272</sup> Churchwardens acted 'with the assent and by the commandment of the hole parish' when they presented the facts and figures at some form of annual public audit, and, indeed, there are occasional direct references to consent in the Madley accounts, as in 1622 when a note was made that 5s. was 'given to Roger Lewis by the consent of most of the parishioners', or 1635 when the parish 'consented' to paying out 'for a Poore Cripple'.<sup>273</sup>

The payments can be thought of as a form of insurance policy. The wardens drew for their funds both on legacies to the poor (in particular a legacy from Catholic Sir Richard Willison of Sugwas worth £2 per year) and on money raised from the church rates. At Madley rates became increasingly important from 1621 when totals paid out to the poor

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Seabourne gentleman of Madley aged seventy-six, Thomas Bythell yeoman of Byford aged eighty and Jane Powell widow of Madley aged eighty-five; HAS 5168, The Delahay dispute 1637.

<sup>271</sup> John Prior had made payments from 1595 to 1609; Mary had been born in 1605 – the need for payments continued to 1636 which suggests she had a disability; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>272</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book. Neither John Taylor nor Roger Lewis was presented for Catholic offences; Roger Lewis was buried in 1625; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish register.

<sup>273</sup> E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath* (London, 2003), p. 22; Cane, *The Churchwarden Accounts of Madley*, p. 273.

started to exceed the amounts coming in from the legacies. In 1623, for example, £3 was received from the legacies, but £6 13s. was paid out; in 1635 the legacies brought in £2 11s. 8d., but £10 3s. was dispensed. Thus, it was rates money that paid for Randle Best and the others in the time of their need in the 1620s and 1630s, and rates money that they themselves had paid into.<sup>274</sup> Randle Best paid 2d. from 1605 to 1633 and Alice Prior continued to be assessed for 3s. per year from 1621 to 1634, even while receiving money for her daughter. Three individuals named Thomas Seybon also paid their church rates regularly, though it is not clear from the record if one of these was the Thomas Seybon of the Hill who had received 17s. in 1624.<sup>275</sup> As well as the notion of insurance, the principle of membership of their neighbourhood as a ‘spiritual entity’ must have been behind these payments.<sup>276</sup> Agreeing payments to the poor, whether from the Willison legacy or from the rates, ensured the spiritual health of their parish, and this meant paying Catholics as well as conformers.

Madley’s records also throw a little light on how Catholics ‘got along’ in their community as churchwardens. Richard Lawrence was presented for not frequenting church in 1593 and 1595 and may therefore have been a church papist in 1588 when he was churchwarden.<sup>277</sup> If so, clearly, he was nonetheless trusted with the business of the church, receiving the usual rents and fees, overseeing repairs, spending money on bread and wine at Candlemas, Easter and midsummer, and taking the register book to the dean for inspection.<sup>278</sup> William Symonds, churchwarden in 1592 and 1593, is also likely to have been a church papist, as he was presented by the dean to the Privy Council for recusancy in 1595.<sup>279</sup> Whilst in office, however, he was fully prepared to act against others with Catholic sympathies,

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<sup>274</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>275</sup> Apart from the occasional reference in the churchwardens’ accounts to charitable donations to individuals outside the parish who arrived with certificates to justify their begging, only one person, listed as a recipient of money because he was poor, had not ever paid church rates; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>276</sup> K. Wrightson, ‘The Decline of Neighbourliness Re-visited,’ in N. L. Jones and D. Woolf (eds.), *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 19-31, p. 29.

<sup>277</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean’s Court 1592-1595; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>278</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>279</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book; HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595.

charging the parish a total of 8s. 11d. for his appearances in court in an Acts of Instance case, Symonds and Seybon versus Richard Lawrence, in which Lawrence was not only failing to attend church but also not paying his tithes.<sup>280</sup> Despite his own presentment in 1595, Symonds was given another responsible role in 1597, as one of the assessors ‘nominated and elected by mr deanes at hereford the 25 day of february to levy the lands of every their habitants for the reparacon of their church’.<sup>281</sup> William Seybon, warden in 1594, but not himself presented for Catholic offences, must also at least have experienced personal embarrassment when he was obliged to witness the presentment of his eldest son John as a recusant a year later, in 1595.<sup>282</sup> This John Seybon was probably the man who himself became a churchwarden in 1611.<sup>283</sup> There can be no doubt about the Catholic faith of John Shepard presented as a recusant in 1595, and again in October 1605, but who nonetheless became warden in March 1605.<sup>284</sup> As seen above, he caused trouble by withdrawing from the office.

The Catholics who became churchwardens at Madley may have done so for no other reason than they took turns under some kind of rota, maybe a property rota similar to the ‘houserow system’ identified for churchwardens in Stoke-on-Trent in 1657.<sup>285</sup> The entries in the churchwardens’ accounts suggest this. They show two men sharing office each year, one named the ‘proctor’, taking charge of the account in the first year and then acting in some

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<sup>280</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book; HCA 7001/1/1, Dean’s court 1592-1594. William Seybon was the other churchwarden acting in this case.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595.

<sup>283</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean’s Court 1592-1595; HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595. William Seybon of Madley was one of the leading yeomen of Madley, paying £3 in the 1598 lay subsidy and the highest amount, 24d., in the 1591 church rates. He died in August 1609, the year when his son John seems to have taken over payment of the church rates, making it likely that John was his son, (see table 4(v), below). However, no John son of William Seybon appears in the Madley parish register. TNA E 179/118/397, Lay subsidy Webtree 1598; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685.

<sup>284</sup> HCA 4813, Certificate of Charles Langford, dean, 1595; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>285</sup> S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: the Parish and County* (1906), pp. 175-190, cited in E. White (ed.), ‘Village Government and Taxation in Later Stuart Nottinghamshire: The Gedling Town Book 1665-1714’, *Thoroton Society Record Series*, 45 (2005).

kind of advisory or supporting role to the new man in the following year.<sup>286</sup> Of the twenty men listed as Madley's principal churchwardens in the accounts between 1565 and 1587, nine of their sons and one of their grandsons (all in bold on table (v) below) also became churchwardens, as did, possibly, the sons of another five (denoted by question marks):

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<sup>286</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

*Table 4(v) Churchwarden families at Madley*  
*Those shaded had a Catholic record*

Lead churchwardens listed from 1565 to 1587	Sons or possible sons who were churchwardens	Comments <sup>287</sup>
<b>George Pantwell 1565</b>	<b>Hugh Pantwell 1614</b>	<b>Hugh son of George and Anna baptised 1572</b>
William Chabnor 1566		
Roger A Preece 1567		
Thomas Symonds 1568	? William Symonds 1593	
<b>John Lawrence 1569</b>	<b>Richard Lawrence 1588</b>	<b>Richard Lawrence took over the lands of John Lawrence in Cublington in 1588</b>
Edward Duppa 1570		
John Carwardine of Madley 1573	? Thomas Carwardine 1602	
Thomas Carwardine of the Castle 1574	? Thomas Carwardine 1602	
<b>Walter Caunt 1575</b>	<b>Walter Caunt 1609</b>	<b>Walter son of Walter and Joyce baptised 1580</b>
<b>John Smith 1576</b>	<b>Walter Smith 1606</b>	<b>John Smith 'and his son Walter' have a nook and a half in Madley in 1592</b>
<b>Thomas Matthews 1577</b>	<b>Thomas Mathewe 1597</b>	<b>Probate granted to Joan relict and Thomas son of Thomas Matthews in 1593<sup>288</sup></b>
<b>William Seybon 1578</b>	<b>John Seybon 1611</b>	<b>William Seybon had lands in Madley from 1570 until 1609 when the payment was received from 'William Seybon and John', and in 1617 from John.</b>
Phillip Yerrat 1579		
<b>John Knight 1580</b>	<b>John Knight 1610</b>	<b>John Knight son of John and Alice baptised 1587</b>
William Ball the younger 1581	William Ball 1602	William Ball the elder and William Ball the younger both paid church rates at Canon Bridge in 1581, and a William Ball, presumably the elder, was buried in 1586. It is likely to have been William Ball the younger who married Margery Tomkins in 1569; this couple had a daughter baptised in 1570, but no son. Unless he was omitted from the parish register, it is likely that William Ball the younger was churchwarden in both 1581 and in 1602.
John Carwardine of Brampton 1582	?John Carwardine or Thomas Carwardine 1616	
<b>John Foote 1583</b>	<b>Edward Foote 1636 (grandson)</b>	<b>Edward son of John and Margery baptised 1581; Edward son of Edward and his wife baptised 1603</b>
<b>Thomas Gough 1584</b>	<b>John Gough 1617</b>	<b>John Gough son of Thomas and Joan baptised 1572</b>
John Jenkins 1585		
William Boughan 1586	?James Boughan 1622	William paid from 1581; by 1610 a William paid in Cublington; in 1614 to 1633 James paid in Cublington. James Boughan son of Willian baptised 1568.
John Meyricke 1587		

<sup>287</sup> HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish book.

<sup>288</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595.

Catholics or church papists who became churchwardens at Madley were perhaps the more readily accepted because religious views here were conservative. Madley had been slow to accept Protestant reform, its church bells rung each year ‘on alhallon night’ in remembrance of the dead and parishioners paying ‘loddinge’ money at Easter until 1576, and its church walls first ‘whited’ in 1581.<sup>289</sup> Perhaps, too, the tomb erected in the chancel at some point in the 1580s for Richard and Anne Willison was an acceptable reminder to parishioners of the Willisons’ strong Catholic faith, as also the Willison ‘Sugwas’ legacy paid annually into the church accounts.<sup>290</sup>



*Figure 4(i) The partially destroyed tomb of Richard and Anne Willison, in Madley church, now in the south aisle<sup>291</sup>*

Arguably, too, Madley parishioners tolerated the various decisions taken by Catholics over the use of the church for rites of passage. They accommodated the burial and tomb of

<sup>289</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean’s Court 1592-1595. ‘Loddinge’ means journeying. The word is derived from the Old English ‘lode’ or ‘load’, a journey; Little, Fowler and Coulson, *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles*, p. 1231. The sense here is that parishioners were paying towards their own journey through purgatory to heaven.

<sup>290</sup> TNA prob/11/78, The Will of Anne Willison, 1591.

<sup>291</sup> The tomb is by the Hereford sculptor John Gildon. Gildon was also responsible for the monument to Richard Willison’s business partner, John Harford, in Bosbury, erected in 1573; Hillaby, *The Book of Ledbury*, p. 86.



the gentry Willisons, and also allowed the interment in 1598 of Mrs Katherine Bromwich, suspected of harbouring recusants (and possibly priests) in 1595. Katherine Bromwich had willed in 1597 that her body ‘be buried in the chapel on the south side of the church ... commonly called the lady chapel’. This was probably where previous family members had been buried, most latterly her son by a former husband, Richard Wenlond, in 1592.<sup>292</sup> John Harper esquire, not named a recusant himself but a probable church papist in 1595, requested burial ‘in the churchyard of *my* parish church in Madley’.<sup>293</sup> He was buried in 1597. Catherine Windowe, presented as a recusant in 1593, buried her husband in church in 1597. The recusant William Symondes was buried in church in the same year, 1597, and recusant John Shepard was buried in 1607. John’s son, also John, was baptised in the church in 1602.<sup>294</sup>

Three Catholic Madley couples who were persistent recusants, mentioned above, may not have used the church at all for rites of passage.<sup>295</sup> Two others who were long-term recusants, William and Catherine Caunt, were possibly less decisive. The baptisms in church of their daughters Susanna, Mary, Dinah and Flavella took place between 1590 and 1602, a few years before William and Catherine are on record as recusants, but they used the church for Mary’s burial in 1604, the year William was heavily involved in events around the Whitsun riots and both were named as ‘principall and daungerous recusantes’, and again for Dinah’s burial in 1619, both events occurring during the period when they were presented as recusants.<sup>296</sup> Yet William’s son, James Caunte, does not feature in the register, although William referred to him in 1637 as having, with his father, conveyed lands in the

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<sup>292</sup> TNA prob/11/92, The Will of Katherine Bromwich 1597; Katherine Bromwich mentions another son, Thomas Wenlond, in her will. Richard Wenlond named Katherine Bromwich as his mother in his will; TNA prob/11/82, The Will of Richard Wenlond of Madley 1592.

<sup>293</sup> Author’s italics; TNA prob/11/90, The Will of John Harper of Madley 1597. John Harper’s son, servant John Shepard, and four grandchildren were named recusants in 1595.

<sup>294</sup> HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; HCA 7002/1/1, Dean’s Court 1592-1595.

<sup>295</sup> See page 237.

<sup>296</sup> HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-123, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

neighbouring parish of Preston-on-Wye to William's brother and nephew.<sup>297</sup> William and Catherine married in 1588 so the most likely explanation for James' omission from the parish register is that he was baptised in one of the years that are missing from the record, 1595 or 1599, but baptism by a priest cannot be excluded.<sup>298</sup> A second couple from Madley, Alice Foote and John Prior, probably used both illegal and legal rites in the same year. Their son John was baptised in church in 1593, but earlier that year Alice appeared at the church court - she was summoned several times before eventually appearing - and confessed that she and John had been married in the small chapel of St Margaret's in Abbey Dore parish in the presence of Madley recusant Mr Anthony Bourne. John was excommunicated at the same court for not receiving the communion at Easter, and Alice was named as a recusant in 1605.<sup>299</sup> Alice Pigge, also, used both the church and a seminary priest, though many years apart and not for the same rite. The baptism of her child by a 'seminarie' occurred in October 1604 in the period when Catholic hopes for a toleration were high, and her husband's burial is recorded in the parish register in 1625, over twenty years later, and in a year when she was presented as a recusant, perhaps after a long spell as a church papist.<sup>300</sup>

## Conclusions

The most serious breakdowns in inter-confessional relations in Herefordshire between 1580 and the early 1640s corresponded to two periods of acute national political tension. In the uncertain years at the end of Elizabeth I's reign and the start of James I's, Herefordshire's Catholics were party to treasonable plots, a campaign against their bishop, and abortive riots.

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<sup>297</sup> HAS 5168, The Delahay dispute 1637.

<sup>298</sup> Catherine Caunt was presented for recusancy from 1605 to 1625 and William Caunt from 1605 to 1640. Susanna was baptised in 1590, Mary in 1593, Dinah in 1596 and Flavella in 1602. Susanna was presented for recusancy in 1611 and married Thomas Matthew in 1616. He was a man with no Catholic track-record, and she was not presented again for Catholic offences. HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean's Court 1608-1613; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685; HAS 5168, The Delahay dispute 1637.

<sup>299</sup> HCA 7002/1/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.

<sup>300</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630.

In the panic-stricken early 1640s, much less gravely, only one person was attacked because he was thought to be a Catholic, although rumours of Catholic insurrection were rife, Brilliana Harley's letters reveal obvious tension and the Puritan vicar of Leominster was sufficiently concerned that he felt obliged to flee with his family. There appear to have been no other alarms: not, in 1612, for example when there were rumours of Catholics about to massacre Protestants in London, nor when Charles I tightened the penal laws in 1625, nor in the 1630s when Northamptonshire and Bristol were 'shaken' by the appearance of a Spanish fleet in the Channel.<sup>301</sup> Some clashes with a religious dimension reached Star Chamber, and a handful of protests which could not be concealed or solved by 'honest neighbours' were presented to the church courts, but only a few of these, like the wrangle at Norton, lasted for any length of time.

A similar inference – the absence of serious tension – can be drawn from the extremely limited number of records regarding Catholics in Herefordshire that survive from the Council in the Marches or from Quarter Sessions. A couple of Star Chamber cases from the early 1620s and Lord Eure's letter to Salisbury in 1609 which refer to the lower secular courts suggest that any discontent was primarily at official level. Even if more Quarter Sessions or Council in the Marches records had survived the conclusion for Herefordshire would probably be the same. In Durham, which had a good set of Quarter Session records, Clavering's analysis revealed that recusants were disproportionately involved in cases of collective violence. However, the violence did not arise from overt anti-popery but from resistance to determined campaigns to arrest recusants who were refusing to pay fines.<sup>302</sup> The situation was similar in Lancashire. Four of the dozen cases of Catholic violence cited by Haigh between 1590 and 1604 were rescues of captured priests, but the rest appear to have

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<sup>301</sup> Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', pp. 157-158.

<sup>302</sup> E. Clavering, 'Riot and Recusancy, Durham Catholic Resistance in the Reign of James I', *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin*, 49 (1942), pp. 3-19, pp. 3, 5, 6, 14.

been attacks on officers seizing recusants' property.<sup>303</sup> Herefordshire's Catholics, unlike Durham's or Lancashire's, apparently did not suffer sustained attempts by the sheriff's officers to seize their goods: if they did, any resistance has not survived in the records.

Neither were Herefordshire's Catholics subject to the sort of provocation experienced in part of Yorkshire, where a prolonged period of conflict from 1596 to 1615 between Catholics and a newly-arrived landowner, Stephen Proctor, hinged on Proctor's godly zeal. Proctor sought to bring 'Reformation' to Nidderdale and the surrounding area. He rooted out Jesuit priests, fined poor recusant tenants heavily and enclosed common land. His actions led to counter-attack by the indigenous Catholic gentry and 'the meaner sort' over whom they held sway: the spread of libels, two assassination attempts, small-scale rioting, 'near rebellion' in 1597, 1600 and 1607, and court cases at Star Chamber.<sup>304</sup>

In the absence, perhaps, of these sorts of opposition, Herefordshire's Catholics, except for the troubled period around James I's accession, more or less kept their heads down. While, however, their strategy seems to have been to 'get along', the evidence suggests they found their situation awkward. Catholics witnessed wills for their Protestant neighbours and borrowed money from them, but when it came to their own death, they fell back on their fellow Catholics, their 'dear friends'. Some of the 'middling sort' may have had the advantage of influence in their communities in their role as churchwarden, but their Catholicism also got them into trouble. And, although the wider community often accommodated them, paying for them to work on the church, choosing them as witnesses in court cases, supporting them when sick and colluding in secret marriages, baptisms and

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<sup>303</sup> C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 327-332. Other, apparently isolated, examples of Catholic resistance to arrest are Catholic Thomas Habington's deployment of force at Hindlip in 1598 when the sheriff came to confiscate his goods; the defence of yeoman recusant Simon Rider of West Bromwich by his neighbours in 1601 when the sheriff came to confiscate his goods, and an attack by the recusant Copleys of Worcestershire on the property of Thomas Allen, foreman of the grand jury, who had been making the Copleys' lives difficult; V. Burke, 'The Economic Consequences of Recusancy in Elizabethan Worcestershire', *Recusant History* (1975), pp. 71-77; M. Rowlands, 'Rome's Snaky Brood: Catholic Yeomen, Craftsmen and Townsmen in the West Midlands, 1600-1641', *Recusant History*, 24 (1998-9), pp. 147-170; R. Manning, *Village Revolts* (Oxford, 1988), p. 102.

<sup>304</sup> Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley', pp. 47-66..

burials, the very prevalence of church papism remains a measure of the unease which Catholics felt in their relations with their neighbours. While individuals like archdeacon Cowper or Member of Parliament Anthony Pembridge may have followed the route of church papism with a degree of success, others, like Mr John Breynton, who had to pretend that he had conformed to persuade the Ashfords of Oxfordshire that he would be a worthy husband for Mary, or plebeian Catherine Eynon, who moved in and out of church papism, had a more troubled experience. The positive evidence for 'getting along' looks like the matter-of-fact and often grudging solution to 'the reality of competing confessions' identified by Lewycky and Morton.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Lewycky and Morton, 'Introduction', pp. 6-10.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CATHOLIC RITUAL PRACTICES AND EVIDENCE OF PROSELYTIZING IN HEREFORDSHIRE c.1580-1640

Marshall argued that the frequent shifts and turns of government religious policy in sixteenth-century England did not so much confuse and disorient people as have ‘a profoundly catechizing effect, encouraging them to think about the meaning (of religion) more intensely than they had done before’.<sup>1</sup> Decisions about Christian practice and what was needed to achieve salvation came into even sharper focus with the arrival of Catholic missionaries and the subsequent passionate debates. While Protestantism emphasised faith in a transcendental God who did not delegate but exercised his power directly, Catholicism was profoundly sacramental.<sup>2</sup> Material things could be made holy by God’s decree. Bells, candles, wells, the relics of saints, rituals and forms of words were not just symbols but were actual vehicles of grace, the ultimate vehicle being the bread and wine, transformed into the body and blood of Christ during the celebration of the mass.<sup>3</sup> Those who inclined to Catholicism had to weigh such religious belief against the demands of community and the law. Their dilemma was particularly acute if a child was to be baptised or a relation buried, when they were responsible not for their own salvation but for the souls of their kin. In the obvious presence of a new-born child or a corpse, moreover, they could not prevaricate, as they might over attendance at services or even the receipt of the communion.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, Herefordshire’s Catholics made different decisions. As observed in chapter four, in the seven parishes where parish registers survive and where it has been possible to identify persistent recusants (those who were presented for four years or more), twenty-six

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<sup>1</sup> P. Marshall, ‘Re-defining the English Reformation’, *Journal of British Studies*, 3 (2009), pp. 564-586, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> E. Cameron, ‘For Reasoned Faith or Embattled Creed? Religion for the People in Early Modern Europe’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 8 (1998), pp. 165-187, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> See for example John Richards of Abbey Dore who ‘did heare service in al back corners of the church’, or John Corbett of Avenbury who declared himself unfit for communion because he ‘was not in charitie’; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

out of forty-five of the recusants opted to use the parish church and Protestant ceremonies and seventeen, thirteen of whom were plebeians, appear to have chosen Catholic marriage, baptism or burial.

*Table 5(i) Use of the church for rites of passage by persistent recusants (including gentry)<sup>5</sup>*

Parish	Number of persistent recusants	Persistent recusants with entries in parish register for marriage, baptism or burial after their first church court record for Catholic offence	Persistent recusants with no such entries	Persistent recusants using both church and Catholic priest
Bosbury	5	5	0	0
Eaton Bishop	8	4	4	0
Much Dewchurch	1	1	0	0
Sutton St Nicholas	3	3	0	0
Wellington	7	4	3	0
Wormebridge	4	0	4	0
Madley	17	9	6	2?
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2<sup>6</sup></b>

It is reasonable to suppose that many more Catholic ceremonies went unreported. The presumption is supported not only by negative evidence – the very low number of presentments except in years when political pressure was strongest – but also by little bits of evidence from the Jesuit letters – Robert Jones hastening to baptise a baby in 1615, twenty baptisms claimed in 1624 – and, most striking of all, the acknowledgement of a ‘Catholicke’ burial place at Kilpeck.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter discusses first the key religious differences between the Catholic and Protestant ceremonies and the legal imperatives of a Protestant state which might have swayed the decisions people made. There is then an examination of the (very limited) records of any other Catholic practices in Herefordshire south and west of the Wye where Catholic rituals and artefacts were reported amongst plebeians. What evidence is there of proselytisation? What tools were being used by priests to build a Catholic community? And

<sup>5</sup> This table appeared in chapter four as table 4(i).

<sup>6</sup> Persistent recusants William and Catherine Caunt may have used both priest and church; see page 267.

<sup>7</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 408; SJ Archives, Rome, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, VII, p. 1104; HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610.

was it easier for seminaries and Jesuits working with plebeian Catholics in this ‘dark corner of the land’ to tap into the miraculous because, as was maintained in earlier historiography, people here were especially prone to ‘popular superstitions’?<sup>8</sup>

### **Catholic and Protestant ceremony**

The ceremonials around Ales Wellington’s burial at Allensmore, which the vicar Richard Heynes witnessed, were fundamentally different from those of the funeral he would have taken for a conforming member of his congregation. He heard first ‘the sound of a little bell’, apparently ‘a Saint’s bell’, then saw that ‘one of the company bare a cross fastened ... vpon the end of a staffe’, and that ‘before the coarse (corpse?) some carryed Tapers burning’.<sup>9</sup> Three men in the procession, who were later apprehended, confessed that they had carried wax candles, another testified that Philip Giles of Allensmore, a sojourner from Monmouthshire, had held the cross, and George Smith, from the neighbouring parish of St Devereux, admitted that he had ‘kneeled downe at the Crosse-waies, and therewith the companie said superstitious praises’.<sup>10</sup> The cross was the banner of Christ the conqueror which the ‘spyrytes that flyethe on loft ... dredytech moch’. The holy bells, the tapers and the candles ‘discharged the burden of sin (and) bribed away devils’.<sup>11</sup> Candles, also, gave ‘clere lyght unto the soule by the derke way ... by the whyche he shall walke’, as well as being a prayer in themselves.<sup>12</sup> There may too, as reported from Lancashire in 1590, have been the remains of standing crosses at the ‘Crosse-waies’ where the burial party stopped to pray for

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<sup>8</sup> Hill, ‘Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land’, p. 84; G. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), p. 280; G Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967), p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Hamond, *The Late Commotion*.

<sup>10</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605

<sup>11</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London, 1999), pp. 280, 450.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362



Ales' soul.<sup>13</sup> Such practices were a defiant rejection of the changes to the burial service made in 1552 and restored by Elizabeth I in 1559. The new service had turned the spiritual focus away from the need of the deceased for delivery from the pains of purgatory to the need of the living to share in the bliss of resurrection. Richard Heynes would no longer commend the dead person's soul or pray that the departed may escape the 'paynes of eternal darckenes' but refer rather to the departed's being 'delyvered from the miseries ... of the world' and request God to make up the number of his elect. Even the petition for 'thys oure brother' became a petition that 'we' may be found acceptable in the sight of God.<sup>14</sup>

It is unlikely, because of the danger of arrest, that any priest was present at Ales Wellington's burial, but seminary priest Roger Cadwallador was later present at and probably presided over a mass attended by twelve of those who took part in the procession, along with at least eleven others.<sup>15</sup> This, a requiem mass, 'profyte(d) ... unto the delyveraunce of soules of purgatorye' better than anything else.<sup>16</sup> The records hint, too, that a requiem mass was held in the same year for Mr Griffiths, who leased the Cwm, the house where the Jesuit Robert Jones operated, and whose body 'was brought to the parish church of Llanrothal by John James of the Broome and cast into a grave' in 1605. The priests 'Morrice (Robert Jones) and Watson' were 'at the buriall in the house', where a third priest gave a sermon,

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<sup>13</sup> People continued to pray at wayside crosses and 'even at places where nothing more than a fading memory of them remained' in Elizabethan and Jacobean Yorkshire; A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 109, 169. Wayside crosses had been loci for blessing crops and exorcising demons when beating the bounds and were officially destroyed in 1548, but the custom of stopping at these points at Rogationtide continued into the seventeenth century; S. Hindle, 'Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory and Identity in the English Local Community c. 1500-1700', in M. Halvorson and K. Spieling (eds.), *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 205-227, p. 209.

<sup>14</sup> G. Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial* (London, 1977), pp. 86-7.

<sup>15</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, f. 211, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Cadwallador was not named as celebrant at Ales Wellington's mass but he can be presumed to have taken the mass as it was stated by his name that he 'usually said Masse there' and his massing clerk, James Cowles, was also present; no other priest or massing clerk was named.

<sup>16</sup> Wynkyn de Worde, *The Arte or Crafte to Lyve Well*, 1505, quoted in Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 373.

presumably to a gathering of mourners, although the vicar of Llanrothal, Walter Harwell, who reported the event, named only Jane Lacie, wife of a Llanrothal yeoman.<sup>17</sup>

Catholic baptism was also distinct from the Protestant ceremony and must have been used when a 'seminarie' or 'popish priest' baptised a child. Jane Barroll of Kingstone, whose child was baptised by 'Kidwallader' in 1605, or Walter and Judith Baskerville, staying at Mr Robert Lochard's house in Pembridge in 1632 and whose child was 'christened there as is supposed by a Romish priest', for example, were clearly rejecting the baptism liturgy of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer.<sup>18</sup> The medieval Catholic ceremony had emphasised the expulsion of Satan and the protection of the child from his power. The devil was exorcised from the child at the point when the priest made the sign of the cross. The oil used was blessed and kept under lock and key so that no-one except the priest could touch it and godparents were to wash their hands to prevent them taking any traces of holy oil out into the community where it might be used for nefarious purposes. The protection of angels was invoked when salt was placed in the child's mouth and at the end of the ceremony a passage from the gospel of Mark about Jesus casting out a demon from a child was read aloud.<sup>19</sup> From 1559, however, the child was to fight Satan, not to be exorcised. Signing with the cross was retained in the new service, but the sign was made after the baptism proper, and only on the child's forehead, its different purpose spelled out by the minister when he said 'We do receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with a sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall ... manfully ... fight under Christ's banner against sin, the world and the devil'.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> TNA CP 144/219, f. 264, Other popish burials, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. The only other record of a burial being taken by priest was at Weston Beggard in 1636, where the wife of John Mason was buried 'out of the parish by a popish priest in the night-time'; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637.

<sup>18</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>19</sup> The Gospel of Mark, Chapter 14, verses 14-29.

<sup>20</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 280-1; J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 52-56.

Also closely linked to childbirth and baptism was the ceremony in which a woman was ‘churched’ or ‘purified’ a month after the birth of a child, which allowed for physical recovery before the return to normal domestic duties. Again, after the Reformation there was a shift of emphasis. In Catholic times the woman had been a penitent, wearing a white veil, carrying a candle and being met by the priest at the church door, only moving inside the church after she had been sprinkled with holy water. After 1552 veils and candles were dispensed with and the woman became a celebrant, no longer met at the church door but taken straight away ‘nigh unto the place where the table standeth’.<sup>21</sup> Sixty-eight secret Catholic baptisms were presented to the church courts between 1591 and 1638, but there were surprisingly few - a mere six - presentments of women who refused to be churched, with just two of these women of non-gentry status.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps there was little pressure on communities to make these presentments, or perhaps even women whose children had been baptised as Catholics still wanted the churching ceremony for themselves. Cressy argued that it was an important celebration of survival for a woman and noted that there was strong evidence that many women took part in the ceremony, between seventy-five and ninety-three percent of women in late Elizabethan Salisbury, for example.<sup>23</sup>

The Catholic marriage service was probably simpler than the services for either burial or baptism. A 1604 copy of rituals printed for the English mission reproduced the Sarum Rite but gave no specific guidance on appropriate ceremony. An academic treatise on marriage from 1623 took it for granted that Catholic couples should marry before a Catholic

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<sup>21</sup> D. Cressy, ‘Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women in Post-Reformation England’, *Past and Present*, 141 (1993), pp. 70-146, pp. 115, 118- 120.

<sup>22</sup> The two women of non-gentry status were Jane Lacie, wife of Roger, of Llanrothal, who refused both the baptism of a child and her own churching in 1605, and a woman whose child was allegedly baptised by a seminary priest in the house of John Mayo and his wife at Sollers Hope in 1631; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632. The four gentry women, all of whom refused both baptism and churching, were Mrs Anna Vaughan of Llanrothal (1605), Mrs Elizabeth Watkins of Treithall in Llanrothal (1607), Mrs William Biford of Sarnesfield (1614), and Mrs Elizabeth Billingsley of Welsh Newton (1632); HAS HD4/1/163, Acts of Office 1606-1607; HAS HD4/1/182, Acts of Office 1631; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>23</sup> Cressy, ‘Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women’, pp. 125, 145.

priest, even though the decree *Tametsi* (although), was never expressly promulgated in England. *Tametsi* was approved by the Council of Trent in 1563 and stated that marriages were valid only if held in the presence of a priest or his deputy and two witnesses.<sup>24</sup> Where Herefordshire records give a glimpse of Catholic weddings, they accorded with this ruling – thus, in 1604, weaver and recusant Stephen Roberts of Garway and Katherine Davies married at a mass at the Darren.<sup>25</sup>

There were legal as well as spiritual pitfalls for Catholics who opted for Catholic rites. To be legitimate marriages had to take place in church. Banns must be read three times in the parish of those marrying, or a licence procured for marriage in a church other than the couple's own, and the ceremony had to be conducted by the parish priest. The couple could, of course, draw on the long tradition of matrimonial contract *per verba de presenti* (by words in the present) which dated from the Middle Ages and which could take place even in the absence of a priest or witness. Yet although marriages *per verba de presenti* were legally binding, by Elizabethan times church marriages were widely accepted as more desirable, and when any clandestine marriage came to the attention of the ecclesiastical courts, the man and woman concerned were usually compelled to renew their vows in the parish church.<sup>26</sup> The subsequent entry of their wedding in the parish register then meant they were no longer open to accusations of fornication, punishable by public penance.<sup>27</sup> Of more concern than such accusations, at least to the wealthy, were the State's penalties for unvalidated marriage, reinforced for Catholics by the Act of 3 James, since, if the formalities had not been observed, a wife had no right to her dower, nor any children to their inheritance. Thus,

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<sup>24</sup> H. Aveling, 'The Marriages of Catholic Recusants, 1559-1642', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963), pp. 66-83, pp. 69-71.

<sup>25</sup> TNA CP144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605. Stephen Roberts confessed to his marriage at a mass in 1604 when he was interrogated following the Whitsun riots.

<sup>26</sup> Aveling, 'The Marriages of Catholic Recusants', p. 66; Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 132-134.

<sup>27</sup> A. Walsham, 'Beads, books and bare ruined choirs: transmutations of Catholic Ritual Life in Protestant England,' in B. Kaplan, B. Moore, H. van Nierop and J. Pollman (eds.), *Catholic communities in Protestant states c. 1570 – 1720*, pp. 103-122, p. 111. Aveling commented that the only sure proof of legitimate marriage was the record of the church registers; Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe*, p. 145.

Aveling found a few cases in the Yorkshire ecclesiastical archives of gentry couples who endeavoured to disguise secret Catholic marriages as Protestant but noted ‘a score or more of what were pretty certainly Catholic clandestine marriages’ between 1590 and 1603 where the parties seem not to have been investigated as ‘they were all of the farming or labouring class’.<sup>28</sup>

An entry in the parish register was also important for baptism as it established a child’s legitimacy and its membership of the parish community.<sup>29</sup> Parish clergy had been required since 1538 to keep ‘one book or register’ in which they recorded ‘the day and year ... and names’ of everyone christened, married or buried in their parish, and from 1561, by an order of Elizabeth, the registers had to be delivered annually to the diocesan registrars.<sup>30</sup> Madley’s churchwardens, for example, were claiming a small fee for taking their parish register ‘to the ordinary’ from 1561 onwards.<sup>31</sup> The 1606 Act of Parliament further discouraged any deviance by imposing a £100 fine for clandestine Catholic baptism.<sup>32</sup>

The legal imperatives relating to burial were less clear. Although canon law ruled that excommunicates were not to be buried in consecrated ground, the specific issue of Catholic burial was not addressed in Elizabeth’s time. It was only after the Gunpowder Plot that ‘popish recusants’ who were clearly excommunicates were to be refused burial in church.<sup>33</sup> Clandestine burials not properly recorded in the parish register could also cause problems for executors, as they did for the family of Roger Cadwallador senior, secretly

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<sup>28</sup> Aveling, ‘The Marriages of Catholic Recusants’, pp. 71-77.

<sup>29</sup> Coster noted that the costs and efforts of keeping parish registers indicate the preoccupation with legitimacy and inheritance in early modern England; W. Coster, ‘Popular Religion and the parish register, 1538-1603’, in K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kumin, *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 94-111, p. 99.

<sup>30</sup> Coster, ‘Popular Religion and the parish register, 1538-1603’, p. 97. The requirement to deliver parish registers annually to the diocesan registrar was an injunction of Elizabeth; Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People*, p. 169.

<sup>31</sup> HAS BK52/34, Madley parish book.

<sup>32</sup> 3 James, cap.5 (1606); cited in Smith, ‘Herefordshire Catholics and the rites of passage, 1560-1540’, p. 236.

<sup>33</sup> D. Cressy, ‘Who buried Mrs Horseman? Excommunication, Accommodation and Silence’, in D. Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 117-138, p. 118; Marshall, ‘Confessionalisation and Community’, pp. 58-59. The issue was addressed in the 1606 Act.

buried at Stretton in 1603.<sup>34</sup> Cadwallador's son John was summoned to court two years later and accused of suppressing legal fees due on the sum of £12 that Roger Cadwallador's property was worth.<sup>35</sup>

There is barely any information in the records about the ceremonies Herefordshire's Catholics used when they married, baptised their children or buried their dead beyond the detail at Ales Wellington's funeral and that a sermon was given at the Cwm when Mr Griffiths was buried. The 'popish priests', as surmised above, no doubt used Catholic rites, as perhaps also did 'popish midwives' such as Mary Coles who baptised two of John Powell's children in Kilpeck in 1605, or Elinor Millnor who christened 'a child in a bowl of water' in the house of recusant Thomas Carpenter of Upton Bishop in 1613.<sup>36</sup> But what happened when Rice ap Rice of Kilpeck had 'a child borne but not brought to church to bee baptised' in 1608, or when the burial of Thomas Philpotts was 'performed in the churchyard of Bridge Sollers in the night-time' in 1614, or when Alice Foote and John Prior of Madley married in 1593 in the presence of Mr Anthony Bourne at the small chapel of St Margaret's in Abbey Dore (which, perhaps significantly, retained its early sixteenth-century roodscreen), can only be inferred from the protagonists' Catholic track records.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office, 1603-1604.

<sup>35</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office, 1605-1606. John Cadwallador was given a penance which he did not do.

<sup>36</sup> TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>37</sup> HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614; HCA 7002/1/1 Dean's court 1592-1595. The roodscreen at St Margaret's was dated to c. 1520 by Philip Dixon, (Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham), *St Margaret's Church information leaflet*, revised edition 2008.



*Figure 5(i) The roodscreen at St Margaret's, near Vowchurch*

There is a similar dearth of information about ceremony at masses. Perhaps when Catherine Smith of Peterchurch claimed in 1611 to have been ‘choked with a crust’, she had in mind the ‘breade having prynte upon hit’ such as had still been administered by the vicar of Much Cowarne in 1573, or the ‘singing bread’ that Roger Stedman, the minister at Munslow in Shropshire, gave to his congregation in 1601. Catherine was servant to gentleman Richard Parrie, who was a ‘contemner of devine service and the sacraments’, and both of them may well have consumed unleavened wafers at secret celebrations of mass.<sup>38</sup> Although Paul Delahay, assisting Bishop Robert Bennet in 1605, did not get far when questioning witnesses about the priest George Williams, he was able to establish that Williams had said mass in August 1604 at the house of yeoman John Smith of Kilpeck and had also ‘sayd Masse twoo sev’all times in the howse of Mris Elizabeth Morgan’ of Eaton Bishop. Rather unbelievably Williams claimed that ‘he did not Consecrate’ on either occasion. But Randle Best of Madley gave a little more detail, telling Delahay that Williams

<sup>38</sup> HD4/1/145, Acts of Office 1572-1573; HD4/1/211, Acts of Office, Archdeaconry of Ludlow, 1599-1601; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611. The use of unleavened bread at the eucharist was abolished in 1549; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 473-474.

had taken confessions ‘at Easter laste’, thus enabling Catholics to fulfil an important annual requirement, and that he had been assisted by another priest, one Edwards, who ‘ministered’ to the communicants.<sup>39</sup> Most probably the procedure was the customary one of confession and absolution before receipt of the sacrament, as occurred at a mass which took place at Malpas in Cheshire in Passion week 1582.<sup>40</sup>

The most telling entry about mass in the church courts records, perhaps, is the assertion made by schoolmaster Robert Tetlowe of Much Dewchurch in 1613, referred to in chapter three, that ‘he would mainetayene the realle coporall pr’sens in the sacrament of the Lords supper against any man and that he could move such questions about it as were never moved before’. Then Tetlowe made a point which went to the heart of the controversy and suggests that he was in touch with contemporary thinking: he said that ‘he had all the counsels since the Apostles tyme to prove it’ and he ‘drew a booke of his bosome, saieing here are the counsels of the ancient fathers’.<sup>41</sup> References other than these are confined almost entirely to the frequency with which mass was thought to have been said at a particular location: for example, ‘every sonday and holliday’ (Oldfield in Garway, 1594), ‘weekly’ (the Darren and the Cwm in Garway and Llanrothal, 1605), ‘often’ (Old Radnor, 1605) and ‘monthly’ (Whitfield in Treville, 1605).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary priest; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> Barlow, ‘A ‘lewd company’ at prayer: Plebeian Catholics in Elizabethan Cheshire’.

<sup>41</sup> HAS HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>42</sup> Lambeth Palace MS 3470, Letters and papers mainly on ecclesiastical affairs, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century; TNA SP 14/14, f. 122, The names of such as are detected to be present att Masse at Whitfield, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/219, ff. 256-259, Repayrers to the Darren, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606.



## Other Catholic practice and mission

What other evidence is there of Catholic practice in Herefordshire? Alexandra Walsham has stressed the endeavours of priests to revive and transform Catholics in England, and to make new converts, by harnessing the supernatural via miracles and exorcisms, the exploitation of print and the recasting ritual life to accommodate the need for more individual devotion in the absence of a parish priest.<sup>43</sup>

Especially interesting in south-west Herefordshire is an accusation in 1602 that William Pitt, yeoman of Kenderchurch, ‘maintained papists in his house which usually pray upon beads’.<sup>44</sup> This was possibly a confraternity of the rosary. Rosaries were ‘the unlearned man’s booke’, promoted particularly by Henry Garnet in his ‘Society of the Rosary’, printed around 1593. Garnet was concerned to develop a confraternity for ‘the simpler sorte’ who could come together with their rosaries, participate in a shared ritual, and get a sense of belonging to a local spiritual community in the absence of regular contact with a priest.<sup>45</sup> Joan ap Thomas of Bacton, just north of Abbey Dore, is also likely to have been a member of such a confraternity. She was ‘taken’ in 1609 when ‘praying on her beads and numbering her prayers superstitiously’ on Tuesday in Whitsun week’, a significant time in the Catholic calendar.<sup>46</sup> The request of secular priest John Stevens (who succeeded Cadwallador) to the archpriest George Birkhead in 1610 for a ‘facultie for hallowing beades ... likewise for receiving some of my ghostly children into the society of our blessed ladye of unetie’, points

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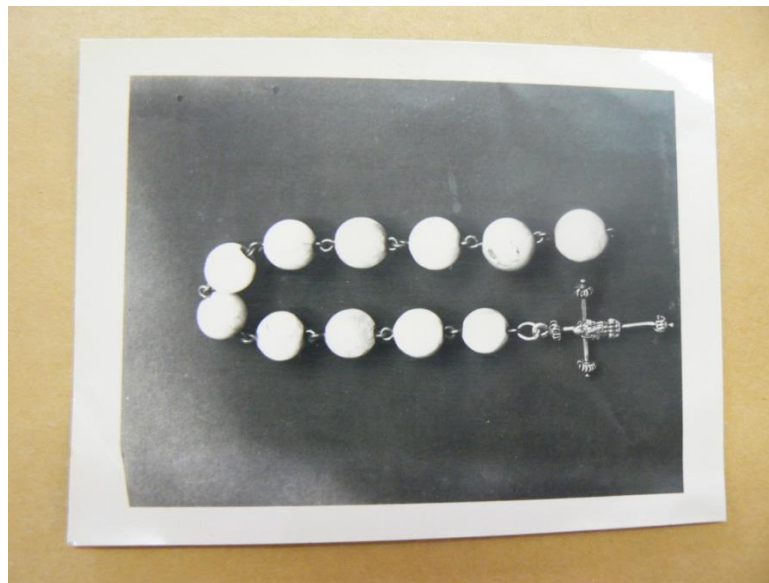
<sup>43</sup> Walsham, ‘Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England’, pp. 779-815; Walsham, ‘Holywell and the Welsh Catholic revival’, in Coster and Spice, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 209-236; Walsham, ‘Catholic Reformation and the Cult of Angels’, in Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, pp. 273-294; Walsham, ‘Domme Preachers? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print’, pp. 72-123; Walsham, ‘Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and The Douai-Rheims Bible’, pp. 141-167; Walsham, ‘Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation’, pp. 288-310; Walsham, ‘Beads, Books and Bare Ruined Choirs’, pp. 103-122.

<sup>44</sup> HAS HD4/1/158, Acts of Office 1600-1602.

<sup>45</sup> A. Dillon, ‘Praying by number: the Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic community, c. 1580 – 1700’, *History*, 88 (2003), pp. 451 – 471, pp. 463-4. Dillon noted that Garnet’s book might be regarded as the manual of the English confraternity.

<sup>46</sup> HAS HD4/1/165, Acts of Office 1609-1610.

to the importance that was attached to such groups and to the careful organisation behind them.<sup>47</sup>



*Figure 5(ii) This photograph of a rosary is held by Hereford Archives. A note on the reverse states that the rosary was found under a hearth at Llanrothal Farm and had been dated to the seventeenth-century. No further provenance is given and the original, unfortunately, is not extant.<sup>48</sup>*

The rosary was a sacramental, a class of objects that provided blessing if the disposition of the recipient was right.<sup>49</sup> Other artefacts could also aid inner contemplation, although they might also be used superstitiously and could therefore be dangerous – indeed the 1563 Council of Trent decree ordered the eradication of ‘superstition’ associated with images. But the death of Cuthbert Mayne in 1577 had ‘marked the beginning of a new traffic in relics’ in England.<sup>50</sup> The Bishop of Hereford certainly perceived the activity of priests behind the possession of the ‘images ... (and) Reliques of idolatry’ that were found along the Herefordshire border when it was searched ‘from village to village and house to house’ by the Justices of the Peace in 1605, declaring that ‘the greate store of priests’ in the area had ‘carried ... the rude and barbarouse people ... headlong into these desperate

<sup>47</sup> AAW, Series B, Roman Letters, 1579-1619, 39, John Stevens to George Birkhead 1610.

<sup>48</sup> HAS BH 61/11.

<sup>49</sup> Walsham, ‘Beads, Books and Bare Ruined Choirs’, p. 111.

<sup>50</sup> Walsham, ‘Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England’, pp. 779-815, p. 794.

courses'.<sup>51</sup> There are just two other isolated references to artefacts in the Herefordshire records. John Wynnall, yeoman of Allensmore and a person of some influence, being the bailiff of nearby Hay Wood, important to parishioners from several parishes for wood and for grazing, was accused of having 'idolatrous images in his house' in 1593, and it may be significant too that Richard Harries, yeoman of Eaton Bishop, mentioned in his will in 1604 a 'cloth of Arras' - perhaps a tapestry with a Catholic religious theme for which Arras, in northern France, was particularly well known.<sup>52</sup>

The Justices who searched the parishes around the Darren in 1605 found, as well as 'popish' artefacts, 'bookes of superstition': perhaps these were the types of 'dumb preacher' which Walsham argued were used by missionaries to construct Catholic communities 'lower down the social scale'?<sup>53</sup> Again, however, direct evidence in Herefordshire is scarce. In 1585 a cache of Catholic books was seized from the house of Mr John Elliot, a former member of the City Council of Hereford, the list of titles revealing them as the sort of learned volumes used by a priest, and the Jesuit community at the Cwm built up Catholic communities among the élite around books, but there are very few references to any volumes in the hands of the 'rude and barbarouse'.<sup>54</sup> There is only the 'popishe ballett' found 'sealed

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<sup>51</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 116, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>52</sup> HCA 7001/1, Dean's Court 1592-1595; TNA prob11/105, The will of Richard Harrys yeoman of Eaton Bishop 1604; Vauchez, *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, p. 112. John Wynnall was bailiff and servant to Richard Nicholas, 'farmer' of Haywood. In 1599 Richard Pearle, Lewis Parry, John Ballard, John Phillips 'and divers others of her majesty's tenants of Allensmore, Callow, Newton and Dewshall, inhabitants in and near the forest of Delahay alias Haywood', exhibited a bill of complaint against Nicholas and Wynnall with regard to the use of pasture for their cattle (except goats) in the wood at any time of year, which had been their custom 'time out of mind'. Nicholas and Wynnall had impounded their cattle and demanded a fine: Nicholas said that the fines were justified by 'divers ancient records'. The case went to court (it is not clear which) where it was ordered that her majesty and the 'fermer' should take the fines and that the plaintiffs and their posterity were for ever barred from the woods; Belmont Abbey Archives, Copy of a decree 23 January 1599, Hay Wood Common. Further indication of the importance of Hay Wood to local people, and thus of the influential status of John Wynnall, is recorded in TNA prob11/75, The Will of Richard Lewys gentleman of Kinvernowe, Much Dewchurch, 1589. Richard Lewys left money to build 'a stone causeway of a yard broad at least from Kinvernowe to the Forest of Haywood as the way is very fowle and dangerous in winter'; he left a further 20s. a year to maintain the drains on the causeway.

<sup>53</sup> Walsham, 'Beads, books and bare ruined choirs', p. 109.

<sup>54</sup> W. D. Macray (ed.), *The Manuscripts of Hereford Corporation*, The Historical Manuscripts Commission, Thirteenth Report, Appendix IV (London, 1892), pp. 334-335; Thomas, A great number of popish books, p. 45. The books found in the Cwm Jesuit library and studied by Hannah Thomas were all learned volumes. In their annual letter in 1624 the Jesuits reported a conversion of a Protestant prisoner to Catholicism via a written

in a packet' by a tailor's servant when he opened up his master's stall one morning in October 1600, which points to the circulation of popular literature, and the 'Mass books of poperie' that the labourer Andrew Barker of Welsh Newton kept in his house, 'by common report' in 1632, which points to something more formal.<sup>55</sup>

There is no evidence of the use of landscape in Herefordshire as part of the 'new geography of the sacred ... which persecution compelled the faithful to create', with the exception, perhaps, of the 'Crosse-waies' where George Smith and Ales Wellington's burial party knelt to pray.<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, there were holy wells that must have had significance for Catholics, such as the two marked on Croft's 1698 map of the Darren, St Michael's Well and Our Lady's Well, both a little way from the house where mass was said.

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account of the death of the Roman Baron, Troilus Savellus, given him by a visiting Jesuit; SJ Archives, Rome, Annual Letter from the College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales to Rome, 1624, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province VII*, p. 1104.

<sup>55</sup> Macray, *The Manuscripts of Hereford Corporation*, p. 338; HAS HD4/1/183, Acts of Office 1631-1632.

<sup>56</sup> Walsham, 'Beads, books and bare ruined choirs', p. 113; TNA SP 14/14, f. 120, A note of such persons detected as present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 211-215, Persons present at the funeral of Ales Wellington, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605.



*Figure 5(iii) The Darren, from a survey by Thomas Croft, 1698. The house is clearly visible, as is St Michael's Well and the tellingly named Chapell Pleck; it is just possible to make out Our Lady's Well at the far end of The Long mead.<sup>57</sup>*

Perhaps a folk memory of the Catholic use of these wells was preserved in a tale recounted by Francis Jones in 1926. A well in Darren's Wood, with curative properties, he said, was known as the Priest's Well: stones in the well bore red marks which were explained as the bloodstains of a Catholic priest who was beheaded there 'in Elizabethan days'.<sup>58</sup>

An entry for 16 August 1618 in the general register of Colwall, north of Ledbury, refers to another well 'commonly called holy' to which John and Mary Howton, who lived in Worcester foregate, brought their sick infant son John, hoping for a cure. If Catholic belief

<sup>57</sup> HAS N87/1/LCD2464, The Darren Fields and Other Lands for George Lewis gentleman by Thomas Croft 1698.

<sup>58</sup> F. Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), pp. 38, 195. He found the record in M. N. J. London, *Bygone Days in the March Wall of Wales*, published in 1926 (no place of publication given), pp. 81-82. Jones comments that the red stains were iron stains and this 'helped to give rise to these tales'.

guided them, however, it was to no avail, for the child ‘died at the house of Joane Hartland widdowe at the lake, and was buried on 25<sup>th</sup> July’.<sup>59</sup> Intriguing, also, is a reference which seems to link St Edith’s well at Stoke Edith to ‘popery’. John Pralph, the elderly vicar of nearby Tarrington, was killed here at the hands of Parliamentary soldiers in 1644.<sup>60</sup> The well was associated with the miracle of the pious medieval maiden Edith who voluntarily carried water to those building the church but eventually became exhausted by her efforts. Before dying she prayed for a miraculous supply of water for the labourers. Webb’s account of Pralph’s murder suggests that the soldiers ‘thought him for popery’, which accords with a 1637 presentment for Tarrington parish in which Pralph was accused of ‘not preaching’, ‘churching his maidservant in his house’, ‘not denouncing excommunicated persons’ and ‘mostly marrying at night or before day’.<sup>61</sup>

In 1660 John Barwick, dean of St Paul’s and ‘no puritan’, looked back to the years before the Civil War when he was defending Bishop Morton over the 1617 Book of Sports, and commented that ‘it was no small policie in the leaders of the Popish party to keep people from church by danceing and other recreations ... in time of divine service ... and by this means they kept the people in ignorance and lukewarmnesse to be wrought on by their emissaries’.<sup>62</sup> Dancing and music in the churchyard on the Sabbath were certainly of considerable concern to the religious authorities in Herefordshire: fifty-six cases, involving 153 individuals, were presented to the church courts from the Herefordshire deaneries between 1570 and 1640, most following Westfaling’s prohibition of feasts and dances in church and churchyard in visitation articles in the early 1580s. But only six of the 153 had Catholic links, and only one of these had a record of continuous recusancy. This was Andrew

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<sup>59</sup> HAS AK 99/1, Colwall General Register, 1588-1650.

<sup>60</sup> Webb, *Memoirs of the Civil War as it affected Herefordshire*, p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.19-21. Pralph must have been elderly in 1644 because he had been inducted in 1602; HAS AK 99/1, Colwall General Register, 1588-1650. There is still an ancient well at Stoke Edith.

<sup>62</sup> J. Barwick, ‘A Summarie Account of the Holy Life and Happy Death of the Right Reverent Father in God Thomas Late Lord Bishop of Duresme’ (1660), cited in C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 378.

Miles, himself a minstrel, who hired another minstrel on the fourth Sunday after Easter, 4 May 1628, and danced with eleven young people of Llangarren who were ‘always accustomed to exercise (themselves) in dancing upon Sabbath days and holidays’.<sup>63</sup> The eleven young people, perhaps disingenuously given his history, denied knowing that Miles was a ‘papist recusant excommunicate’.<sup>64</sup> However, Miles’ agenda may well have been religious, although the church court entry does not suggest that his playing focused on worship. The motives of Roger Pigge and Henry Price alias Tailor who played for dancers at Madley in 1605 may have also been suspect, as discussed in chapter four, but most minstrels and dancers named in the Hereford diocesan records were probably ‘festive traditionalists’, making it difficult to believe that the promotion of the Catholic faith was at the top of the agenda for the majority who took part.<sup>65</sup> They were more likely to have had a religious agenda that derived from opposition to perceived Puritanism than from the promotion of a Catholic faith. At Goodrich, on the Whit Monday of 1609, for example, ‘one hundred or thereabouts’ assembled ‘in most neighbourly and friendly sort according to antient custom’ in and near the churchyard. Edward Savacre, the vicar of Goodrich, and a group of his supporters disapproved of the gathering, one of them declaring that such an assembly was ‘not onlie a ridiculus but an ungodlie Custome’. There was a protracted fight between Savacre’s servants and the ‘merry party’ with whom the constable of Goodrich, William Phelpotts, sided. Phelpotts had long ‘born malice’ towards Savacre because he was a preacher who ‘exercise(d) the word of God’ and had a regular ploy of ‘interrupting and prophaning’ Savacre’s preaching ‘with dauncing, drinking and other idle magames’.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628; Jones, *A Handbook of Dates*, p. 200.

<sup>64</sup> For Andrew Miles at Orcop see HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606, and at Garway in 1611 see HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612. He was named as a minstrel at Llangarren in HAS HD4/1/180, Acts of Office 1627-1628.

<sup>65</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; E. F. Winerock, ‘Churchyard Capers: the Controversial Use of Church Space for Dancing in Early Modern England’, in J. M. de Sila (ed.), *The Sacralisation of Space and Behaviour in the Early Modern World* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 233-256, pp. 255-256.

<sup>66</sup> TNA STAC8/234/10, transcribed in D. N. Klausner, *Records of Early English Drama, Herefordshire and Worcestershire* (London, 1990). There is possible corroborating evidence for the ‘ancient enmity – at Goodrich

Thus, evidence of the use of landscape for Catholic devotion or as a proselytising tool in Herefordshire is sparse. Similarly, there are very few records of magic harnessed for such purposes, although Mary ap Rice, wife of minor gentleman Rice ap Rice of Kilpeck, claimed that the priest George Williams had ‘harbored a sorcerer in secret and practised incannton upon some of the good sorte’, and Robert Bennet reported to the Earl of Salisbury that one Dr Harley, ‘a simple doctor made beyond the seas’, had ‘carried away the simple people long, and the better to insinuate himself into company he practises physic’.<sup>67</sup>

There are, however, a few more hints in the Herefordshire records of the use of relics and miracles both for proselytisation and for the building up of the Catholic community. The Catholic gentry Bodenhams of Rotherwas possessed a small twelfth-century reliquary made of oak and copper, overlaid with Limoges enamel, which had been made for a relic of Thomas of Canterbury. The Bodenhams do not appear to have had connections with plebeian Catholics in their parish, although they had at least one plebeian tenant elsewhere in the county, but in 1625 Brigitte Bodenham was presented to the ecclesiastical courts alongside a gentry household, members of which may well have practised devotions by means of the relic.<sup>68</sup>

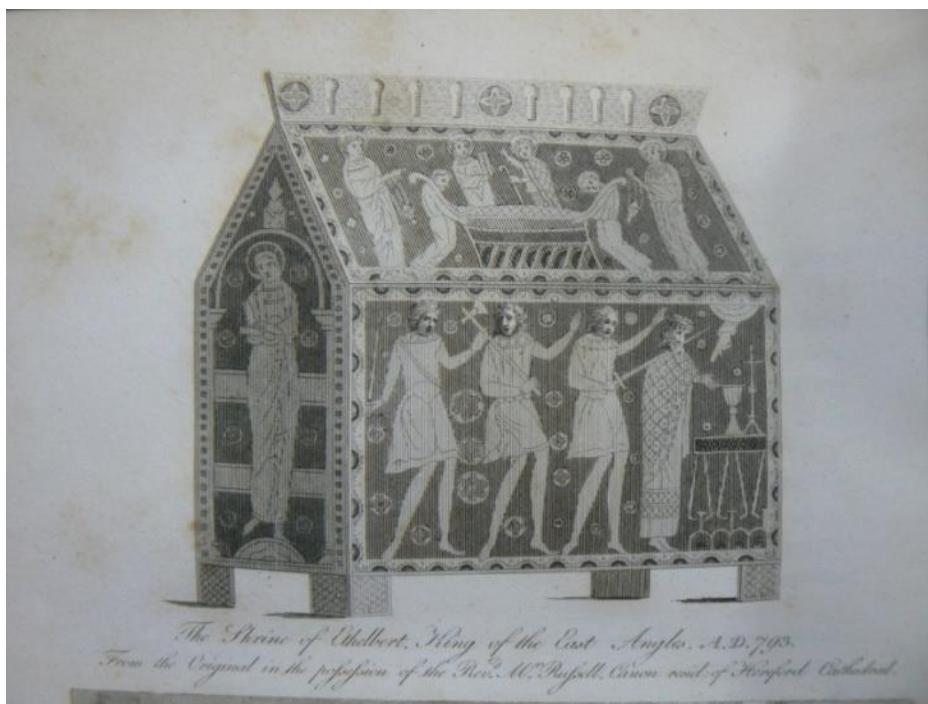
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in 1598 a Thomas Phelpottes and his wife and daughter were presented ‘for danncing and selling ale at time of divine service’; HAS HD4/1/157, Acts of Office 1598-1599.

<sup>67</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online.

<sup>68</sup> HAS AL/19/16, Hereford Diocesan Register; HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of office 1625-1626. Yeoman’s wife Elizabeth Henley of Yarkhill in Frome deanery was a tenant of Sir Roger Bodenham in 1616.





**Figure 5(iv) The reliquary at Bodenham illustrated in Duncumb and cited by Hodgetts<sup>69</sup>**

William Ely, a Marian priest and a ‘great aider and abettor of the Jesuits’, was guardian of another set of relics, those of Thomas of Cantilupe, whose shrine had been the object of pilgrimages in Hereford before the Reformation.<sup>70</sup> Ely was a prisoner for many years in Hereford gaol but, as he was ‘able to ride up and down the county as he listes’, even while a prisoner, he presumably carried the relics with him and put them to good use.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps shortly before his death, Ely apparently handed the relics on to a ‘Mr Clarke of Hereford’,

<sup>69</sup> Duncumb, *History of the Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, p. 549. Duncumb describes the reliquary as of St Ethelbert, not Thomas à Becket. He noted that it formerly stood on the high altar in Hereford Cathedral and was preserved after the Reformation ‘by a very ancient and respectable family of the Roman Catholic persuasion’ but was in the possession of Canon Russell by 1804. It was made of oak, covered with copper, and ornamented with gilding and enamel in three shades of blue, a green, white, yellow and red; it measured eight and a half inches high, seven inches long and three and a half inches wide, and had a simple mosaic pattern on the back – four leaves, repeated in square compartments; ‘inside is a painted red cross, the usual sign of a relic, on a part stained with a dark liquid considered to have been the blood of the martyr’. Duncumb believed the relic to date from the time of Henry III, when such items were introduced to England by ‘some Greeks’; the relic would have been carried in procession on the anniversary of the saint, celebrated ‘on the fifth calend of May’.

<sup>70</sup> J. Duncumb, *History of the Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, p. 549; TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605; Stoneyhurst, Father Greene MSS, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 454; S. Arrowsmith, ‘The Hereford Mappa Mundi’, in A. Johnson, and R. Shoesmith (eds.), *The Story of Hereford* (Almeley, 2016), pp. 85-88, p. 85.

<sup>71</sup> TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605.

who delivered them to John Stevens, the secular priest who became Cadwallador's successor.<sup>72</sup> Stevens gathered 'divers ancient Catholics' to examine the relics, and they, assured by 'certain signs and tokens', took their oath that these were the relics they had been used to visit in the cathedral.<sup>73</sup> It is not clear what the relics consisted of, although a letter from the Jesuit John Poyntz later claimed that, after they had continued to be preserved up to the Civil War by the Streete family of Hope-under-Dinmore, 'the head and other relics of this holy Prelate ... were at length torn from (the Streetes) when the Parliamentary forces under Stamford took Hereford'. They were later recovered 'by the pious exertions of Mrs Ravenhill'.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, there is no record of any miracle associated with the Cantilupe relics until 1670 when eighteen youths who were 'laid up in an infirmary with various maladies', including three with smallpox, were apparently cured during an exposure of an 'arm of St Thomas' following a 'double octave of prayers before the Blessed Sacrament'.<sup>75</sup>

The accounts of the four alleged miracles that do survive from the period before 1640, however, are informative. Thus, one miracle, an occurrence at Hampton Bishop, 'was known to all the shire': it must have boosted Catholics in their faith and may well have also affected some conversions. A young man searching his father's house came across 'a great crucifix'.

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<sup>72</sup> Stonyhurst, Father Grene MSS, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, pp. 454-456; Challoner has John Stevens giving testimony about Cadwallador, and Cadwallador writing to him to ask him to care for his flock (he also asked the archpriest Birkhead); Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, pp. 299, 302.

<sup>73</sup> Stonyhurst, Letter from John Stephen Poyntz, St Omer 1 September 1688, Stonyhurst, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* IV, p. 454.

<sup>74</sup> Stonyhurst, Letter from John Stephen Poyntz, St Omer 1 September 1688, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* IV, pp. 456-457; an MS removed from Holywell, A Letter from Father Waterworth, missionary at Hereford, to Father Morris, dated 24 September 1871, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 458. John Poyntz (1602-1671) was the son of Edward Poyntz, a Herefordshire Catholic reported by the high sheriff in 1605 to be 'highly Jesuited'; Poyntz was ordained in 1633 and joined the Jesuits in 1640; Thomas, A great number of popish books, p. xiv n. 40; TNA SP 14/14, f. 95, Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire to the Privy Council June 1605. Members of the Streete or Strete family of Hope-under-Dinmore were presented for recusancy from 1605 to 1642. Mrs Ravenhill was perhaps Winifred Ravenhill of St Owen's, Hereford, wife of Richard Ravenhill, who died in 1628; both Richard and Winifred were presented as recusants in the 1620s; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606 to HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of Office 1637-1639; HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642; HCA 7002/1/3, Dean's Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>75</sup> An MS removed from Holywell, A Letter from Father Waterworth, missionary at Hereford, to Father Morris, dated 24 September 1871, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 458.

He swore at it, saying ‘What, standeth thou here idle?’ and hung it outside on a pear-tree to frighten away birds. The following night the pear-tree was struck in half and found to be bearing ‘most unsavoury fruit’.<sup>76</sup> A second alleged miracle was connected with Cadwallador’s execution at Leominster on 27 August 1610, when ‘a Protestant woman’ was said to have seen ‘in the place of one of his quarters a great light’ and that she ‘voiced it all abroad the towne and country’.<sup>77</sup> The emphasis in Cadwallador’s martyr narratives, however, was not on miraculous events but on his steadfast refusal to take the oath of allegiance, particularly at the gallows, on his patient goodness in the face of extreme suffering, on the cruelty and incompetence of his executioners and on the resulting compassion of the crowd who were ‘much grieved to see a Christian so tortured’ and would not ‘applaud’ the executioner when he held Cadwallador’s head aloft on his halberd.<sup>78</sup> Cadwallador’s remains, nonetheless, were clearly important to local Catholics, no doubt for veneration. John Stevens

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<sup>76</sup> Quoted in the anthology of P. Caraman (ed.), *The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I* (London, 1960) from C. Grene’s *Collectanea*, p. 48. Christopher Grene, the Jesuit priest who included the miracle in his *Collectanea*, commented that ‘Mr John Scudamore and Mr John Harper’ knew about this miracle, which seems to date it as late Elizabethan or early Stuart. Mr John Scudamore may be the John Scudamore esquire of Kentchurch, recorded as a recusant in 1598 or the John Scudamore gentleman of Kentchurch recorded for not receiving the eucharist in 1589; Mr John Harper may be John Harper of Chilston, Madley, who died in 1597 or his son John who was presented as a recusant at Madley between 1595 and 1612; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596 to HAS HD4/1/169, Acts of Office 1611-1612; TNA prob/11/90, The Will of John Harper esquire of Madley 1597.

<sup>77</sup> AAW, Series A, X, 45, William Bishop to Thomas More 22 May 1611. Thomas More was Birkhead’s agent in Rome. According to Reeves, Cadwallador’s body was quartered and the quarters placed at Bargate, Lugg Bridge, Battle Bridge and Etnam Street; N. Reeves, *The Town in the Marches: A History of Leominster* (Leominster, undated), p. 87; Reeves does not give his sources.

<sup>78</sup> AAW, Series A, IX, 62, George Birkhead to John Jackson, A breife discourse of the proceedings of our glorious martyr Mr Cadwallador preist from the time of his apprehension to his death 1610; AAW, Series A, IX, 64, A true relation of some parts of the suffering; AAW, Series A, IX, 74, An account of the martyrdom of Roger Cadwallador by Robert Jones 1610, in Latin, transcribed at Belmont Archives, Hereford. The Catholic accounts of Cadwallador’s execution (no Protestant account survives) emphasised his refusal of the oath at the gallows, allegedly eight times; his sufferings, which as well as the usual being dragged to the place of execution on a hurdle, included an earlier walk from Hereford to Leominster, shackled and when weak from illness, and the particular pain he suffered when hanged because an incompetent hangman had placed the knot under his chin instead of under his ear, which was remedied by some from the crowd running in and holding Cadwallador up while the knot was re-tied. Cadwallador’s goodness was exemplified by his making the sign of the cross in his extremity, ‘to the amazement of onlookers’; and by his ‘goodlie exhortations’ to his friends, his forgiveness of his executioners, and his wishing the Bishop of Hereford a higher place in heaven than his own. See Questier for the importance of the emphasis on Cadwallador’s not taking the oath of allegiance, a point used by the seculars in their argument for a bishop in England; M. Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 30-31. It was William Bishop and other secular clergy who were being accused of being insufficiently strenuous in their condemnation of the oath who collated the stories about Cadwallador’s refusal of it; M. Questier, private communication.

kept in his custody ‘more of his fleshe than anyone I thinke’ and had delegated ‘one Poelle’ to ‘procure his head’, which Herefordshire Catholics hoped to keep ‘in our country’.<sup>79</sup>

Another purported miracle associated with Cadwallador dated from 1612. Its promotion was clearly aimed at bolstering a Catholic audience anxious about the oath of allegiance. The martyr’s ghost allegedly appeared to ‘one in Hereford’, a former member of his flock, who was ‘in great doubt’ about taking the oath. The night before the man was due to tell the bishop his decision, Cadwallador appeared to him, ‘holding a chalice full of water’, and counselled, ‘John, yff there be made never so little an hole in this chalice, all that is in yt will runne out’. This miracle has an interesting provenance as it was told to George Birkhead by the appellant Dr William Bishop, whose probable relation, Francis Bishop, was living in a house in Treville in the early 1600s, and Francis’ house had been used regularly as a venue for masses celebrated by Cadwallador.<sup>80</sup> A fourth miracle, equally dramatic, and like the crucifix demonstrating the superiority of the Catholic faith, was recounted in the annual letter of 1624 from St Francis Xavier’s. A Jesuit Father administered the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to a dying woman. She was insensible – indeed, ‘nearly dead’ – but he had ‘scarce left the house’ when some of her servants ran after him to announce that the dying woman had ‘suddenly recovered her senses and her health’.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> AAW, Series B, 39, John Stevens to George Birkhead, undated. The head became the subject of dispute between local Catholics and the hierarchy: John Gennings, it seems, ‘sought to keep the Jewell in the country’, but Birkhead proposed it should go to Rome; AAW, Series A, IX, 84, John Gennings to George Birkhead 1610. A year later George Birkhead reiterated in a letter to Thomas More in Rome the idea that ‘the Countrie’ would ‘take it in evil part to be deprived wholly of Cadwallador’s head ... that Jewell’; AAW, Series A, XI, 83, George Birkhead to Thomas More 20 May 1612. Cadwallador’s skull remains an important object to contemporary Herefordshire Catholics. It was found in the twentieth-century in the possession of a priest in Hereford. A fragment has been retained as a relic at Belmont Abbey, and the remainder was buried at St Ethelbert’s in Leominster, on 27 August 2017, with the place marked by a memorial stone.

<sup>80</sup> AAW, Series A, XI, 25, George Birkhead to Thomas More 26 February 1612. Birkhead said that he had been told of the miracle by ‘Denton’, ie the appellant Dr William Bishop. William Bishop was himself in Treville in 1605; TNA CP 144/184, ff. 212-215, Persons armed on Corpus Christi Day, The Earl of Worcester to The Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605; TNA SP 14/14, ff. 122-124, The names of the principall and most dangerous recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 22 June 1605.

<sup>81</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, Annual Letter from the College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales to Rome, 1624, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, VII, p. 1104.

Miracles and martyr narratives like this, broadcast to Herefordshire Catholics for their edification and encouragement, must have built a sense of community among them, as too, most probably, did tales which denigrated the opposition. One such story was that of a Puritan cobbler who had so befuddled his thinking with reading the Bible on his own, without the benefit of priests to interpret scripture, that he hanged himself in his parish church, a ‘sad event (which) was published far and wide’.<sup>82</sup>

Redolent of community also is the sense, apparent in letters from seculars written around the time of Cadwallador’s death, that Catholics, especially gentry Catholics, were connected by more down-to-earth interests. The priest John Stevens wrote of an issue that was exercising ‘the brethren’ concerning entitlement to income from the rental of some lands and tenements valued at £100, and of a matter ‘burning amongst us’ about Lady Bodenham’s daughter’s unacceptable suitor. The young people being ‘full cosens in the third degree ... all the Catholics of the country’ thought the alliance would set a bad precedent of ‘libertie’. Stevens refers, too, albeit obliquely, to his awareness of a sense of community among those of lower social status, describing a ‘Mr Benet’ who, ‘seeing the greate service of some poore Catholiques in our country he gave (them) five nobles’.<sup>83</sup> An unnamed priest, similarly, wrote of kindness shown to a ‘brother’ at Wellington who was sent seventeen shillings.<sup>84</sup> The Jesuits operating from the Cwm, later the College of St Francis Xavier, also built a strong community, not only via the books which circulated among the élite, mentioned above, but also via their active ministries. As well as visiting the sick and the imprisoned, the claimed in 1624, for example, to have ‘arranged’ a number of quarrels.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales 1624, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, VII, p. 1104.

<sup>83</sup> AAW, Series B, 39, John Stevens to George Birkhead 1609.

<sup>84</sup> AAW, Series A, XI, 22-23, Letter of a priest February 1612;

<sup>85</sup> T. M. McCoog, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales’, *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 5, pp. 1-27, p. 14; SJ Archives, Rome, Annual Letter from the College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales to Rome, 1624, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, VII, p. 1104.

Clearly, therefore, missions were operated in Herefordshire by both the seculars and the Jesuits and the Jesuits, at least, claimed converts. The annual letter from St Xavier's in 1624 stated that '120 were received into the church' and in 1625 'thirty-five converts were made and thirty-five confessions were heard'.<sup>86</sup> These claims are borne out by the church court records. In Garway, for example, in the heart of Jesuit country, four new names appeared in 1625 together with the names of eight recusants of long-standing.<sup>87</sup> Another four new names appeared in 1629 and 1635, and half of those who were newly-presented went on to become persistent recusants.<sup>88</sup> At Madley the eleven 'core' recusants were joined by seventeen new people in 1625 and 1626.<sup>89</sup> Only one of the people named was again named as a recusant, Margery Roberts, who was on the list presented to Sir Robert Harley by the Puritans in 1642, although it is difficult to know whether others persisted because the records of the Hereford deanery end in April 1630.<sup>90</sup> The profile of the new people is interesting, however, as most can be identified as either young adults or as adults with young children.

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<sup>86</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, Annual Letter from the College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales to Rome, 1624, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, VII, p. 1104; SJ Archives, Rome, Annual Letter from the College of St Francis Xavier and the Mission to Wales to Rome, 1625, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, VII, p. 112. Hilton noted that Jesuits in Durham 'turned to win converts amongst the poor' in 1624 because the secular clergy were turning the gentry against them; J. A. Hilton, 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham', *Recusant History*, 14 (1977), pp. 79-85, p. 80.

<sup>87</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626.

<sup>88</sup> HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637.

<sup>89</sup> HCA 7001/1/3, Dean's court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>90</sup> HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642.

**Table 5(ii) People newly presented to the church courts from Madley in 1625/6 for Catholic offences<sup>91</sup>**

Name	Comments	Recusant or possible recusant relations
Young adults?		
Richard Smith alias Stephens	Perhaps the Richard Smith son of Walter Smith baptised in 1610, so 16 years old	Thomas and Margary Barrett had a child christened by a seminary priest in 1604 and were recusants from 1605 to 1613 and 1605 to 1626 respectively
Edward Smith alias Stephens	His brother? (not in parish register)	
Mary Barrett	Noted as daughter of Thomas Barrett in church court records	
John Medmore	Perhaps the John Medmore baptised in 1606 so aged 20, but could also be the John Medmore who was an adult by 1605 when he was paid for work on the church bells, and who had children in 1610 and 1612	
Adults with young children		
Jacob Powell	Married widow Elinor Vayne in 1622 and had a child in 1622	
Elenor Powell	Wife of Jacob; a daughter was baptised in 1624	
John Tomkins	Perhaps the John Tomkins, wife Blanche, who had a child baptised in 1621, or possibly the John son of John Tomkins baptised in 1602	
Thomas Jenkins	A child of Thomas Jenkins was baptised in 1616	
Alice Jenkins	Wife of Thomas; daughters were born in 1624 and 1626	
Francesca Vaughan	Wife of Richard Vaughan; Francesca Love married Richard Vaughan in 1616 and they had children baptised in 1617 and 1625; she was buried in 1636	
Richard Crispe	He seems to have been a newcomer to the parish; he and his wife had children from 1623 to 1633	
John Meiricke alias weaver	John had a child baptised in 1618 and he was buried in 1628	
Elizabeth Turner	Wife of George Turner; they married in 1621 and had a child baptised in 1621	
William Buryfield	A newcomer to the parish; he had a daughter baptised in 1616 and another in 1625; his wife Joanna died in 1625	
Middle-aged or older?		
John Caunt	Son of William Caunt; not in the parish register	William Caunt was a prominent Whitsun rioter and a recusant from 1605-1642
Richard Stevens	Perhaps the Richard Stevens whose son John was baptised in 1593	Possibly Joan née Beale who married Whitsun rioter Leonard Marsh in 1559
Joanna Marsh	Buried in 1636	
John Boughan	Perhaps the John son of John Boughan baptised in 1585 and married in 1618	
Elenor Jenkins	Wife of William; he was baptised in 1592 and she died in 1636	
Margery Roberts	Her mother, also Margery Roberts, was being paid for by the parish from 1619 and died in 1622; this Margery also received payments from the parish up to 1639; she is listed as a recusant by the Puritans in 1642 <sup>92</sup>	

<sup>91</sup> Information from church court records; HAS BK52/34, Madley Parish Book; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685. John Caunt was named as the son of William Caunt in HAS 5168, The Delahay dispute 1637.

<sup>92</sup> HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642.

Most of these newly-presented people had surnames which recur frequently in the Madley parish register: only Richard Crispe and William Buryfield had names with no Madley antecedents. Just three of these newly presented people, Mary Barrett, John Caunt and perhaps Joanna Marsh, were related to people who were or had been recusants in the parish and might therefore have been church papists before this date. Overall, however, the list looks very like a crop of new converts.<sup>93</sup>

Influential in mission, as well as the priests, must also have been the various ‘seducers to poperie’ who appear in the church court records. Some mentioned were minor gentry: Mr William Hawkins of Stretford (1605), Mr Charles Burne and his wife Anna of Madley (1605), Mr Thomas Vaughan of Welsh Bicknor (1635). Others were plebeians: Margaret Watkins of Welsh Newton (1605) who was ‘a great seducer of the king’s majesty’s subjects’; Thomas Preece of Madley (1605) who ‘boldly seduced others’, Alice Chambers of Lugwardine (1616), who ‘seduced one Elinor Skrine from this religion established’; and, most particularly, John Cadwallador of Stretton and John Smith of Kilpeck.<sup>94</sup> John Cadwallador was brother to Roger Cadwallador the priest, and was presented for recusancy from 1603 to 1629. In 1617 both Cadwallador and Smith were gaoled for recusancy but released in return for a bribe, when, it was claimed, they would return to ‘doing great hurt (by) ... their great skill and cunning in seducing his highness liege people from their obedience and conformitie to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England’. Smith, ‘surnamed the pope’, had been noted as a ‘greate seducer’ since 1605, and his son was also a

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<sup>93</sup> HAS HD4/1/178, Acts of Office 1625-1626; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637; HAS HD4/1/185, Acts of office 1637-1639; HAS BK52/1, Madley Parish Register 1558-1685. John Caunt was named as the son of William Caunt in HAS 5168, The Delahay dispute 1637.

<sup>94</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/176, Acts of Office 1616-1617; HAS HD4/1/184, Acts of Office 1635-1637.



problem, 'being a willfull and obstinate recusant and never came to church nor received the sacrament in all his lyfe'.<sup>95</sup>

What of the case made in earlier historiography, that it was easier for seminaries and Jesuits, in their dealings with plebeian Catholics, to tap into the miraculous because they were working in one of the 'dark corners of the land' where people were especially prone to 'popular superstitions'?<sup>96</sup> Whilst for Protestant polemicists Catholic rites and magic were equally depraved, both deriving from demons and both attributing powers to created objects 'against God's will and ordinance', a distinction was nonetheless drawn. The German academic, Johann Spreter, wrote in 1543 that there were two sorts of enchanters, monks and priests on the one hand and 'common conjurors' on the other, and Georg Godelmann, in 1570, distinguished 'papal exorcists' from 'enchanters'.<sup>97</sup> Nonetheless, Puritans certainly held that 'popular superstition' was rife in the 'dark corners'. John Penry maintained in 1587 that the Welsh 'listened to ... soothsayers and enchanters, who walk with the fairies', and Robert Holland, Calvinist vicar of Prendergast in western Pembrokeshire, was so moved by his congregation's reliance on magic to remedy misfortune that he wrote an imagined dialogue between two ordinary Welshmen, Tudor and Gronw with the aim of upholding the Protestant case and denouncing the errors.<sup>98</sup> Holland's parish was in the far west of Wales, over eighty miles west of Archenfield, but superstition was also associated with Herefordshire. Thus, John Aubrey recorded a Herefordshire funeral custom from the early seventeenth-century in which sixpence, a loaf of bread and a bowl of beer were given to a 'sin-eater' to free the deceased from 'walking', clearly a case of protective magic, and in

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<sup>95</sup> TNA STAC8/83/12, Barrett v Prior 1621; HAS HD4/1/161, Acts of Office 1603-1604 to HAS HD4/1/181, Acts of Office 1629-1630.

<sup>96</sup> Hill, 'Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land', p. 84.

<sup>97</sup> Cameron, 'For Reasoned Faith or Embattled Creed?', pp. 172-173.

<sup>98</sup> Hill, 'Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land', p. 82; Clarke and Morgan, 'Religion and Magic in Elizabethan Wales: Robert Holland's Dialogue on Witchcraft', pp. 31, 34-35.

1642, the Hereford petitioners to Parliament declared that ‘the people generally are continued in ignorance, superstition and profaneness, the natural seed-bed of popery’.<sup>99</sup> Yet very few cases of ‘popular superstition’ – only twelve, involving fourteen people – came before Herefordshire’s church courts. This was entirely typical of the country as a whole. Ingram’s study of the ecclesiastical court records of Wiltshire from 1570 to 1640 led him to the conclusion that ‘witchcraft and magical practices were not of major concern either to the ecclesiastical authorities or to the people of Wiltshire’; nor, indeed, did he think they were of concern ‘in many other areas of England’.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, only three of the twelve Herefordshire cases involved individuals who were also presented for refusing to attend church or receiving the communion, and so, arguably, were Catholic, and of these only one was from an area where recusancy was relatively common. This was Joan Brace of Clehonger, a non-attender in 1608 and a refuser of the communion in 1620, who was presented several times in the years up to 1620 for ‘charming’.<sup>101</sup> The other two cases were Richard Herringe of Kington, who refused to attend church in 1605 and would not receive the eucharist in 1611, and who was accused of ‘sorcery’ in 1608, and John Hill of Letton, whose wife was a recusant, and who visited a witch in 1614.<sup>102</sup> The remaining six people who used sorcery and charming, plus the two men who saw the ‘spirites’ of women who had died, Henry Tymmersley and his wife who went about with a ‘Shoare’ (shears?) and a sieve to find lost things, and Elenora Rogers who ‘did reioyce’ when her curses caused an accident, were not presented for Catholic offences.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Hill, ‘Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land’, p. 84

<sup>100</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 97.

<sup>101</sup> HCA 7001/1/2, Dean’s Court 1608-1613; HCA 7001/1/3, Dean’s Court 1618- April 1630.

<sup>102</sup> HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HAS HD4/1/164, Acts of Office 1608-1609; HAS HD4/1/167, Acts of Office 1611; HD4/1/171, Acts of Office 1613-1614.

<sup>103</sup> HAS HD4/1/149, Acts of Office 1581-1582; HAS HD4/1/156, Acts of Office 1595-1596; HAS HD4/1/162, Acts of Office 1605-1606; HCA 7002/1/2, Dean’s Court 1618-April 1630. Margaret Gitto of Staunton on Wye was accused of witchcraft in 1582; William Knight used charms at Much Birch in 1618; Joanna Davies, widow of Madley, was accused of using sorcery in 1620, 1625 and 1628; Joan Wingood was accused of sorcery at Clehonger in 1620; Anna wife of Henry Barroll of Allensmore was accused of using sorcery in 1623; Anna Stannedge of Monkland used charming to allay thunder, tempest and ill-weather in 1632; in 1595 William

The low incidence of presentments does not preclude, of course, the probability that the Christianity of many was compatible with magical beliefs, as Keith Thomas asserted.<sup>104</sup> Zemon Davies has in any case argued that it is not necessarily useful to endeavour to separate ‘truly religious beliefs from the superstitious or magical’ as both helped people to understand events in a pre-scientific world.<sup>105</sup> Any success which Dr Harley, or the priest George Williams had by practising ‘physic’ and ‘incannton’, however, does not seem, on the strength of these admittedly very few presentments, to have been due to Herefordshire’s Catholics being especially prone to popular superstition.<sup>106</sup>

## Conclusions

The stark choice between spiritual and legal benefits that Catholics had to make when it came to marriage, baptism and burial must indeed have encouraged people ‘to think about the meaning (of religion) more intensely than they had done before’.<sup>107</sup> That their decisions were different, some following their deepest religious inclinations and others conforming, as seen in chapter three, is unsurprising. The records of images, books, beads, holy wells, relics and miracles are few, admittedly, but taken together and in the context of the priestly concern and sense of community that emerges from the letters of seculars and Jesuits, they suggest that, at least in the area of Herefordshire south and west of the Wye, people made their decisions

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Portman of Monkland saw the spirit of a woman after she had died and Richard Black of Hope-under-Dinmore met and talked with the spirit of his wife after her death in 1605. Tymmersley and his wife searched for lost things at Much Dewchurch in 1586, and Elenora Rogers rejoiced at the ill-fortune of others at Eaton Bishop in 1626.

<sup>104</sup> Keith Thomas’ assertion is noted by Martin Ingram in *Church Courts*, p. 96.

<sup>105</sup> N. Z. Davies, ‘Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion’, in C. Trinkhaus and H. A. Oberamm, *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 307-336; pp. 311-312.

<sup>106</sup> TNA CP 191/56, ff. 110-111, Paul Delahay to the Earl of Salisbury 16 October 1605, The Enclosure: a brief of the examinacons taken against Rice Griffiths als Williams a seminary prieste; TNA CP, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 9 August 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 760, State Papers online.

<sup>107</sup> Marshall, ‘Re-defining the English Reformation’, p. 585.

against a background of active mission. There is nothing, however, that points to this mission being built on an extraordinary level of popular superstition. The superstition decried by critics in this dark corner of the land was more likely Catholic practice than any specific seam of pre-Christian belief noted by pre-revisionist historians.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 280; Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays*, p. 21.

## CONCLUSIONS

Contemporaries knew Herefordshire as one of the ‘dark corners of the land’.<sup>1</sup> In 1564 Bishop John Scory described the county as a place where ‘the holl ecclesiastical and politicall body’ was infected ‘by a fretting and creping canker’ emanating from the cathedral itself. In 1581 it was perceived to contain ‘verie many notoriously addicted to Papistrie’, and a few years later, around the time of the Armada, connections with Catholic Spain were suspected via the banished William Seabourne, uncle of John Seabourne of Sutton.<sup>2</sup> At the height of the Whitsun Riots, in 1605, Bishop Robert Bennet claimed that Herefordshire contained ‘no man of any estate ... but is allied to ... this evil affected sect’.<sup>3</sup> He feared armed revolt and his fear surfaced again in 1609, when he lamented ‘the great disobedience to him afforded by the mutinous attitude of recusants’ who had increased in the diocese and who ‘combine with those of Monmouth’.<sup>4</sup> Things did not improve thereafter, despite Bennet’s attempts to establish a preaching ministry in the second decade of the seventeenth-century, the evangelising efforts of Thomas Pierson in the north of the county around Brampton Bryan from 1612, and John Tombes’ preaching at Leominster in the 1630s.<sup>5</sup> In 1642 Puritans would describe Herefordshire as ‘this soule-distressed county’, where ‘the people love not the word’ and where the cathedral remained ‘the fountaine of superstition ... a world of ... Ceremoniall trinketts and fopperies devised to make gaze upon the outside of empty ... pompe’.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hill, ‘Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land’, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop John Scory to the Privy Council 1564, reproduced in Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, VII, p. 245; TNA STAC5/A6/38, Phillips v. Atkins, 1591.

<sup>3</sup> TNA CP 191/56-57, The Bishop of Hereford to the Earl of Salisbury 1 June 1605, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 489, State Papers online.

<sup>4</sup> TNA SP14/49, f. 44, Ralph Lord Eure to the Earl of Salisbury 13 November 1609. Lord Eure is quoting Bennet’s words from a letter the bishop had sent him.

<sup>5</sup> Richardson, ‘Bennet, Robert (d. 1617)’; Eales, ‘Pierson, Thomas (c.1573–1633)’; BL Harley papers Add MSS 7002, f. 353, Letter to Robert Harley from John Tombes Leominster 12 Dec 1640.

<sup>6</sup> HCA 6450/3, Herefordshire recusants indicted 1642.

Despite these gloomy scenarios, little remedial action was taken either by the Privy Council or by the Archbishops of Canterbury. In the 1560s John Scory met only ‘a deaf ear’ when he ‘bombarded’ Archbishop Parker with requests for reinforcement, including the provision of active preaching ministers, and between 1604 and 1610 Robert Bennet’s repeated appeals to both Bancroft and Cecil for a diocesan commission to support his efforts against recusants were unsuccessful.<sup>7</sup> The Privy Council limited itself to issuing instructions - a letter to the bishop in 1581, for example, that he must ‘deal with’ those resorting to ‘secret conventicles’, to the sheriff of Herefordshire in 1587 urging him to discontinue the practice of his predecessors in permitting recusants ‘to remaine in free prisons’, but instead to ‘restraine them of their libertie’, or one in 1625 requiring the Lord Lieutenant to relieve recusants of their weapons.<sup>8</sup> Even at the time of the Whitsun riots in 1605 the Privy Council, ‘after a long discussion ... resolved to refer the whole question (of the riots) to the magistrates in the county’ (although they changed their tactics when they sent the Earl of Worcester to sort things out in July, a month after their conference).<sup>9</sup>

Geography was a key ingredient in Herefordshire’s darkness. Historians recognise that Protestant non-conformity under Elizabeth was more likely to be found in London and in eastern and southern counties than in the north and west, and that the gospel tended to spread along well-developed economic routes and flourish in the more prosperous towns.<sup>10</sup> Herefordshire was distant from these networks and without easy access even to the Midlands.<sup>11</sup> Its cathedral city was in decline throughout the sixteenth-century and its market towns remained small. Contemporaries knew Herefordshire as a ‘farre remote country’, but

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<sup>7</sup> Pettegree, ‘Scory, John (d. 1585)’; Richardson, ‘Bennet, Robert (d. 1617)’.

<sup>8</sup> A Letter to the Bishop of Hereford 25 October 1581, reproduced in Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, XII, p. 124; A letter to John Birington esquire, sheriff of the county of Herefordshire, 17 December 1587, reproduced in Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, XIV, p. 402; BL Add MS 11055, Letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Lieutenant of Hereford 20 October 1625.

<sup>9</sup> H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, X (London, 1900), Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 29 June 1605, Calendar entry number 390, p. 252.

<sup>10</sup> C. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England*, (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 159.

<sup>11</sup> Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 159.

it was distance from the centre with regard to politics that counted for them.<sup>12</sup> Pettegree's analysis of the government's attitude to Herefordshire in the 1560s probably pertains throughout the period: its evangelism could be left to a later time 'in an era of harsh realities' because the county 'was hardly likely to prove a threat to the security of the realm'.<sup>13</sup> Thus, in 1605 Worcester's conclusion that the Whitsun riots were much 'inferior in importance to what had been represented' and concerned only 'silly creatures' was acceptable – and was, indeed, accurate, as this study has shown – the more so with the assurances which Worcester himself could provide on behalf of his co-religionists.<sup>14</sup>

Lack of action by the religious authorities or the government, even so, made Herefordshire no less of a 'dark corner' in people's minds. Yet it has been seen here that the experience of living in Herefordshire could be very different from the way it was perceived by some. The people of Herefordshire may not have loved 'the Word ... nor those who preach it' but that did not make their county a stronghold of Catholicism.<sup>15</sup> The cathedral staff in Hereford no doubt included church papists, and administrators in the city with Catholic leanings sometimes got away with favouring their own. There was activity in the city's prisons – perhaps centred on the gaoled Marian priest William Ely in Elizabeth's reign, and around the work of the Jesuits in the 1620s – and Hereford was probably a centre where Catholics from the surrounding area could attend mass, although there are few records of this. Nonetheless, large numbers of recusants were never presented from the city churches. Indeed, Catholicism, especially plebeian Catholicism, was weak in most of the county. There were islands of determined gentry recusancy north and east of the Wye, such as at Bromyard, Sarnesfield and the Wellington-Sutton area, and there is some evidence of seigneurial

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<sup>12</sup> TNA SP14/49, f. 44, Lord Ralph Eure to Salisbury 13 November 1609; TNA SP14/48, f.189, The Bishop of Hereford to Salisbury, 27 October 1609.

<sup>13</sup> Pettegree, 'Scory, John (*d.* 1585).

<sup>14</sup> H. F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian, X* (London, 1900), Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate 10 August 1605, Calendar entry number 408, p. 266; TNA CP 144/184-188, The Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury 5 July 1605, Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), 17 (1938), Calendar entry number 613, State Papers online.

<sup>15</sup> HCA 6450/3, Hereford recusants indicted 1642.

influence, but, even so, plebeians who did not frequent church or receive communion were few in number around these households and persistent non-gentry Catholics even rarer. More common than persistent recusancy were fleeting groups of people refusing to attend church or to take communion, perhaps occasional congregations that bubbled up around the visits of priests. In the few places where plebeian Catholic activity was more marked north and east of the Wye, it had frequently died away well before the end of James' reign – the little groups in Ledbury parish had disappeared by 1608, for example, there was no trouble at Bosbury after 1613, and the 'obstinate recusants' in Lugwardine were last heard of in 1616.

Even in the south and west, where most presentments for Catholic offences were made to the church courts and where plebeian recusancy was relatively strong, Catholics generally kept their heads down and got on with their lives with reasonable success. Turmoil around 1605 threw some off-course. Various rioters fled, at least temporarily, at Madley the vicar renounced his living, a churchwarden resigned and a tailor was sent to gaol, and small groups of 'notorious recusants' were sometimes caught up in minor 'tumultes and outrages'. Yet these were exceptional occasions, not the regular occurrences that gentleman Epiphanus Haworth would have the Star Chamber judges believe, and few religiously-linked protests reached either the secular or the ecclesiastical courts. Some of the cases that did reach the courts had long religious roots, such as that between vicar John Baguley and Mrs Amy Cavendishe, or the disputes between the Farleys and their neighbours, but religion was also tagged on to what were at heart economic concerns. In the early 1640s Robert Harley's associates expressed real anxiety about the Catholic threat in Herefordshire. Brilliana Harley wanted to move her household to Shrewsbury, and tension at Leominster led the Tombes family to flee, but their concerns were symptomatic of a wider national tension and there was little local violence. The usual picture in the county was one of the normal involvement of Catholics in community life. Catholics acted as churchwardens in their parishes, witnessed



wills, borrowed money from and lent money to non-Catholics, took part in court cases alongside non-Catholics and, quite often, used the church for rites of passage. At Madley recusants were paid for their work on church repairs and were supported by the parish at times of sickness and in their old age. Gentry also 'got along'. Mr John Carpenter, for example, acted as a good neighbour to a non-Catholic tenant, and Mr John Breynton senior must have been on reasonable terms with the mayor of Hereford as he spoke out for Edmund Campion whilst dining him. A handful of men of high status were church papists whose careers flourished.

Inevitably, though, disquiet accompanied those who adhered to their illegal faith, exacerbated, perhaps, as Walsham and Milton have argued, by the very day-to-day compromises reached.<sup>16</sup> The unease found expression in the retreat of some into church papism, especially noticeable after 1605, but is also reflected in the mutual support Catholics gave each other – favouring fellow Catholics as executors and overseers to their wills, taking on the role of schoolteacher or midwife, and sheltering one another in their homes. Whilst conformers colluded with Catholics, lending and borrowing money and not presenting all baptisms and burials, for example, they also applied the pressure. They did not forget that Catholic neighbours were disobeying the king's law and that there was an imperative to maintain the spiritual community. The steady and efficient work of the ecclesiastical courts, moving around the deaneries two or three times a year until the late sixteenth-century and then requiring churchwardens to attend regular courts in Hereford cathedral, served as a constant reminder of this. The pressure to present Catholics varied over time, in response to political will from government, churchwardens certainly sometimes concealed Catholics from the courts, and Catholics themselves were caught trying to dissuade potential presenters with

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<sup>16</sup> Walsham, 'England's Nicodemites', pp. 97-98; Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Catholicism', p. 86.

threats, but the overall patterns of presentment between 1580 to 1638 are consistent enough to suggest that the recusant minority was identified reasonably accurately across the county.

It is striking that the plebeian recusant minority was concentrated, as Justice Lewkenor recognised, in the area of Herefordshire where ‘Welshness’ was most pronounced.<sup>17</sup> Here, Catholicism tended to run through families, and perhaps extended widely across social groups, and plebeian Catholics took on leadership roles in both the Catholic and the wider community. In this area there is firm evidence of attendance at masses and use of Catholic rites of passage, as well as hints of post-Tridentine mission such as the establishment of confraternities of the rosary and use of miracles to boost the community and make new converts. The crop of new converts visible at Madley in 1625 is testimony to mission success. However, this was not a wholly peasant culture. Gentry houses were important venues for mass, and Catholic gentry landlords were not entirely without consequence, although, as to the north and east of the river, it appears that only a few of their probable tenants held firm as recusants. A more important influence on plebeian Catholicism seems to have been this area’s different history, with its roots in the British kingdom of Eryng.<sup>18</sup> Welsh customs, culture and language gave people here much in common with Monmouthshire and are likely to have inclined them to ‘cling to’ Catholicism, as Robert Persons recognised in 1581.<sup>19</sup> The Catholics were well-supported, too, by the Earl of Worcester and by the active mission of the Jesuits, as well as by seminary priests, particularly Roger Cadwallador who ‘laboured’ for ‘the poorer sorte’.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> TNA CP 89/35, Justice R. Lewkenor to Sir Robert Cecil, Ludlow: 1601, Oct. 31, reproduced in M. S. Guiseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Honourable, the Marquis of Salisbury*, 17 (London, 1938), Calendar entry number 1102, State Papers online.

<sup>18</sup> Oates stresses the key role of local shared histories in the Durham diocese; Oates, ‘Catholicism, Conformity and the Community in the Elizabethan Diocese of Durham’, pp. 53-76, p. 76.

<sup>19</sup> SJ Archives, Rome, reproduced in Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, IV, p. 408.

<sup>20</sup> AAW, Series A, IX 64, p. 205, A True relation of some parte of the manyfold and most constant suffering of Mr Roger Cadwallador als Mr Rogers priest martyred at Lemmster gathered out of his letters before his death and the certificat of such as could best beare witness of the same

The Whitsun riots showed Herefordshire's plebeian Catholics south and west of the Wye at their most confident. Boosted by hopes of 'tolleration' when Elizabeth died and James made conciliatory gestures, they were proactive, prepared to stand up for their beliefs and take the initiative against Robert Bennet and his ilk. Thereafter, they returned to their accustomed place in society and were, on the whole, more subdued: they 'got along'. But their commitment to the Catholic faith was not diminished. On the contrary, some of these ordinary people - even though their numbers were never great - can be thought of as 'Puritan Catholics of the hotter sort', making unequivocal decisions to worship, marry, baptise and bury the Catholic way and, in a few cases, to live as active proselytisers.<sup>21</sup> As well as the 'harbouring', midwifery and teaching that went on, it is striking that one 'Mr Benet' was so impressed in 1610 by the 'greate service of some poore Catholiques' that he was moved to give them five nobles of Cadwallador's legacy, presumably to aid their good works.<sup>22</sup> At times, too, 'the poore Catholiques' were visibly backed by a largely like-minded populace which extended even beyond the immediately 'Welsh' area - the apparently sympathetic crowd at Cadwallador's execution in 1610, the 'superstitious people' who caused Tombes and his family to flee Leominster in 1642, as well as the many probable colluders when Catholics baptised their children or buried their dead.

Marshall, arguing for confessionalisation from below, has pointed out that 'English parishioners were not simply passive and stoic consumers of the officially prescribed diet', giving as illustration the eager celebrations of Latin mass in the 1550s when Mary came to the throne 'even when (celebration) ... was technically illegal', and 'parochial resistance to Laudianism' in the 1630s.<sup>23</sup> Plebeian Catholics in Herefordshire were, in the years between these times, also not 'stoic consumers of the officially prescribed diet' but found their own

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<sup>21</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> AAW, Series B, 39, John Stevens to George Birkhead 1609.

<sup>23</sup> P. Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48, (2009), pp. 564-586, p. 584.

ways through the contradictions and difficulties which life in a Protestant state presented to Catholic believers.

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J72/8.	Stoke Edith Churchwardens' Accounts
N87/1/LCD2464	The Darren Fields
NG13/1	Hentland Churchwardens' Accounts
W96/1	Wormebridge General Register

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7/4/9	Robert Lyrry of Bromyard, glasier, 1604
9/3/21	Henry Collis of Ledbury, 1603
12/3/1	Roger Colly of Bromyard, 1548
13/2/38	Catherine Coles of Bromyard, 1579
13/3/46	John Collie of Bromyard, 1578
16/2/15	Elizabeth Davies of Ledbury, 1607
24/1/4	Henry Hunt of Bromyard, weaver, 1546
24/11/1	Thomas Hunt of Bromyard, 1559

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7002/1	Dean's Peculiar Consistory Court

#### Huntington Archives, Los Angeles

EL	Ellesmere Manuscripts
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#### Lambeth Palace Archives, London

MS 3470	Letters and papers mainly on ecclesiastical affairs, 16 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> century
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#### Shropshire Archives, Shrewsbury

212/Box 365	Bridgewater Collection
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#### Somerset Archives, Taunton

DD/CM.187	Combe family papers, Manor Court Roll Kilpeck
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C	Court of Chancery
E 134	Exchequer, depositions
E 178	Exchequer, Records of the King's Remembrancer
E 179	Exchequer, Lay Subsidy Rolls
E 331	Exchequer, Office of First Fruits and Tenths
E 376	Exchequer, Recusant Rolls
Prob/11	Probate of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury
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STAC 5	Star Chamber, Elizabeth I
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## APPENDIX I

### HEREFORD DIOCESE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT BOOK REFERENCES

Archidiaconal volumes (Office) for the whole diocese 1558-1638	Hereford Archives	
<b>YEAR</b>	<b>REFERENCE NUMBER</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
1558 - 1559	HD4/1/134	Unfit for consultation and not on microfilm
1560 - 1561	HD4/1/135	
1561 - 1562	HD4/1/136	
1562 - 1563	HD4/1/137	
1563 - 1564	HD4/1/138	
1564 - 1565	HD4/1/139	
1565 - 1566	HD4/1/140	
1566	HD4/1/141	
1567 - 1568	HD4/1/142	
1570 - 1571	HD4/1/143	
1571 - 1572	HD4/1/144 A	
1571 - 1579	HD4/1/144 B	Bishop's Court not archidiaconal Court
1572 - 1573	HD4/1/145	
1575 - 1576	HD4/1/146	
1577 - 1578	HD4/1/147	
1579 - 1580	HD4/1/148	
1581 - 1582	HD4/1/149	
1582 - 1583	HD4/1/150	
1586	HD4/1/151	
1586 - 1587	HD4/1/152	
1587 - 1588	HD4/1/153	
1588	HD4/1/154	
1588 – 1589	HD4/1/155	
Archdeaconry of Hereford volumes		
1595-96	HD4/1/156	
1598-99	HD4/1/157	
1600-1602	HD4/1/158	
1601-1602	HD4/1/159	Includes entries for the deanery of Hereford dated 1600 and 1601
1602	HD4/1/160	
1603-1604	HD4/1/161	
1605-1606	HD4/1/162	Includes the deanery of Hereford
1606-1607	HD4/1/163	
1608 - 1609	HD4/1/164	
1609 - 1610	HD4/1/165	
1609	HD4/1/166	
1611	HD4/1/167	
1611	HD4/1/168	
1611 - 1612	HD4/1/169	
1613 - 1614	HD4/1/171	
1621	HD4/1/172	
Whole diocese volumes		
1614	HD4/1/173	
1614	HD4/1/174	
1616	HD4/1/175	
1616-1617	HD4/1/176	

1618-1619	HD4/1/177	
Archdeaconry of Hereford volumes		
1625-26	HD4/1/178	
1626-27	HD4/1/179	
1627-28	HD4/1/180	
1629-30	HD4/1/181	
1631	HD4/1/182	
1631-32	HD4/1/183	
1635-37	HD4/1/184	
1637-39	HD4/1/185	
Next extant volume : 1663-1664	HD4/1/186	
Archdeaconry of Ludlow volumes		
1595 - 1597	HD4/1/210	
1599 - 1601	HD4/1/211	
1605	HD4/1/212	
1605 - 1606	HD4/1/213	
1606 – 1607	HD4/1/214	
Fragments	HD4/1/257	Includes Madley and Eaton, 1630 and Leominster and Weobley 1637-8

Various sixteenth-century: probably Bishop's courts	Hereford Archives	
<b>YEAR</b>	<b>REFERENCE NUMBER</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
1582	HD5/7/4	
No date	HD5/7/5	Fragments
1584	HD5/7/6	Fragments
No date	HD5/7/7	Fragments
1589	HD5/7/8	Fragments; records confined to lists of incumbents
1603	HD5/7/9	Fragments; records confined to lists of incumbents
1612	HD5/7/10	Fragments

Dean's peculiar volumes (Office and Instance) 1592-1629	Hereford Cathedral Archives	
<b>YEAR</b>	<b>REFERENCE NUMBER</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
1592 - 1595	7002/1/1	
1608 - 1613	7002/1/2	Some years in poor condition
1618/19 to April 1630.	7002/1/3	

## APPENDIX 11

### *(i) Examples of parishes with one or two clusters*

Year	Bredwardine	Bodenham	Much Marcle	Much Dewchurch
1582	2	2	0	0
1586	2	0	1	0
1588	0	2	1	0
1595	0	3	0	2
1598	0	0	0	1
1600	0	2	3	0
1603	0	0	0	3
1605	<b>6</b>	3	0	<b>8</b>
1608	1	2	<b>6</b>	2
1609	0	0	0	2
1611	1	<b>5</b>	4	0
1613	0	<b>5</b>	0	0
1614	2	0	1	<b>8</b>
1617	4	0	1	3
1619	0	1	0	0
1625	0	1	2	2
1629	1	0	<b>5</b>	1
1633	3	0	0	0
1635	1	1	0	0
1637	0	0	3	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>

### *(ii) Examples of parishes with three or four clusters*

Year	Old Radnor	Hope under Dinmore	Allensmore
1582	<b>10</b>	0	0
1587	1	0	0
1593	0	0	3
1595	<b>8</b>	0	3
1598	3	0	0
1600	0	4	0
1602	0	0	4
1605	0	2	<b>7</b>
1608	1	3	0
1609	2	1	4
1611	0	2	<b>5</b>
1614	<b>6</b>	4	<b>7</b>
1618	0	<b>6</b>	0
1620	0	0	1
1625	0	<b>5</b>	4
1627	0	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>
1633	0	3	No data
1635	1	1	No data
1637	1	1	No data
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>44</b>

(iii) *Examples of parishes with five or six clusters*

Year	Lyonshalls	Walford	Abbey Dore
1582	2	0	4
1595	4	0	3
1598	8	0	3
1600	2	0	2
1605	9	4	11
1608	1	0	6
1609	6	5	4
1611	6	5	6
1614	7	9	0
1618	5	5	2
1625	1	1	10
1627	1	9	9
1633	1	7	0
1635	0	4	2
1637	1	4	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>60</b>

(iv) *Examples of parishes with seven or eight clusters*

Year	Sarnesfield	Tibberton	Madley	Llanrothal
1582	5	0	0	0
1587	13	0	0	0
1593	0	0	9	0
1595	0	1	5	0
1598	0	0	0	14
1600	3	0	0	0
1602	0	0	8	0
1605	6	10	24	27
1608	9	8	0	0
1609	6	2	4	22
1611	0	7	7	0
1612	0	13	0	0
1614	11	16	14	25
1616	0	0	0	32
1618	0	0	0	<i>multi</i>
1621	6	2	2	2
1623	0	5	0	0
1625	0	0	15	41
1626	9	3	15	24
1627	0	1	3	0
1628	0	8	1	0
1633	0	No data	No data	0
1635	0	No data	No data	0
1637	0	No data	No data	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>185 +?</b>

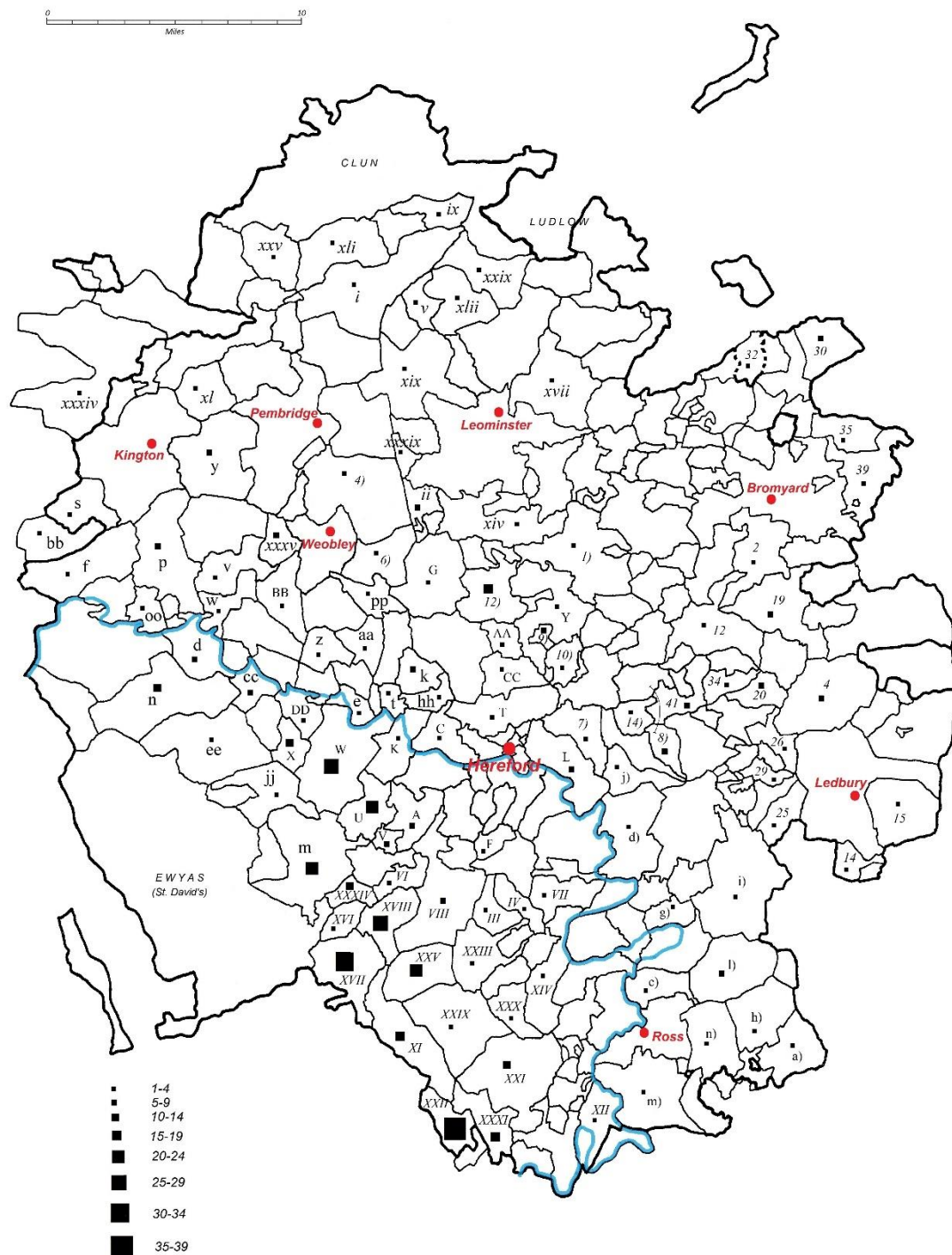
*(iv) Examples of parishes with nine or ten clusters*

Year	Kingstone	Kilpeck	Orcop
1586	0	12	6
1587	0	0	5
1591	6	0	0
1595	4	1	3
1598	0	8	7
1600	0	3	0
1602	8	0	0
1605	22	25	23
1608	2	1	0
1609	2	11	12
1611	3	0	0
1612	12	0	0
1614	7	17	9
1616	0	0	8
1618	0	2	<i>multi</i>
1621	5	0	0
1623	3	0	0
1624	4	14	0
1625	9	0	17
1626	11	11	9
1627	6	7	4
1628	6	8	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>103 +?</b>

*(iv) Examples of parishes with eleven or twelve clusters*

Year	Kentchurch	Garway
1586	9	13
1587	3	10
1595	12	1
1598	51	7
1602	4	8
1604	8	0
1605	30	15
1608	1	10
1609	28	0
1613	0	15
1614	34	9
1618	7	12
1625	7	21
1626	0	17
1627	16	0
1628	6	6
1633	1	4
1635	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>152</b>

# MAP XVIII: Presentment of non-gentry Catholics in 1605



Presentments of non-gentry in 1605

**KEY TO  
Presentments in the  
rural parishes 1605**

**FROME DEANERY**

2 Avenbury  
4 Bosbury  
12 Much Cowarne  
14 Donnington  
15 Eastnor  
19 Bishop's Frome  
20 Canon Frome  
25 Little Marcle  
26 Munsley  
29 Pixley  
30 Upper Sapey  
32 Stoke Bliss  
35 Tedstone Delamere  
39 Whitborne  
41 Yarkhill

**LEOMINSTER  
DEANERY**

i Aymestry  
ii Birley  
v Croft  
ix Elton  
xiv Hope under  
Dinmore  
xvii Kimbolton  
xix Kingsland  
xxv Lingen  
xxix Orleton  
xxxiv Old Radnor  
xxxv Sarnesfield  
xxxix Stretford  
xl Titley  
xli Wigmore  
xlii Yarpole

**WEOBLEY  
DEANERY**

d Bredwardine  
e Bridge Sollers  
f Brilley  
k Credenhill  
m Abbey Dore  
n Dorstone  
p Eardisley  
s Huntington  
t Kenchester  
v Kinnersley  
w Letton  
y Lyonshall  
z Mansell Gamage  
aa Mansell Lacy  
bb Michaelchurch  
cc Moccas  
ee Peterchurch  
hh Stretton  
oo Winforten  
pp Wormsley

**HEREFORD  
DEANERY**

A Allensmore  
C Breinton  
D Brockhampton  
F Callow  
G Canon Pyon  
K Eaton Bishop  
L Hampton Bishop  
T Holmer  
U Kingstone  
V Thruxton  
W Madley  
X Tibberton  
Y Marden  
AA Moreton on Lugg  
BB Norton Canon  
CC Pipe and Lyde  
DD Preston Wynne

**ARCHENFIELD  
DEANERY**

III Much Birch  
IV Little Birch  
VI St Devereux  
VII Little Dewchurch  
VIII Much Dewchurch  
XI Garway  
XII Goodrich  
XIV Hentland  
XVI Kenderchurch  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XXI Llangarren  
XXII Llanrothal  
XXIII Llanwarne  
XXV Orcop  
XXIX St Weonards  
XXX Tretire  
XXXI Welsh Newton  
XXXIV Wormbridge

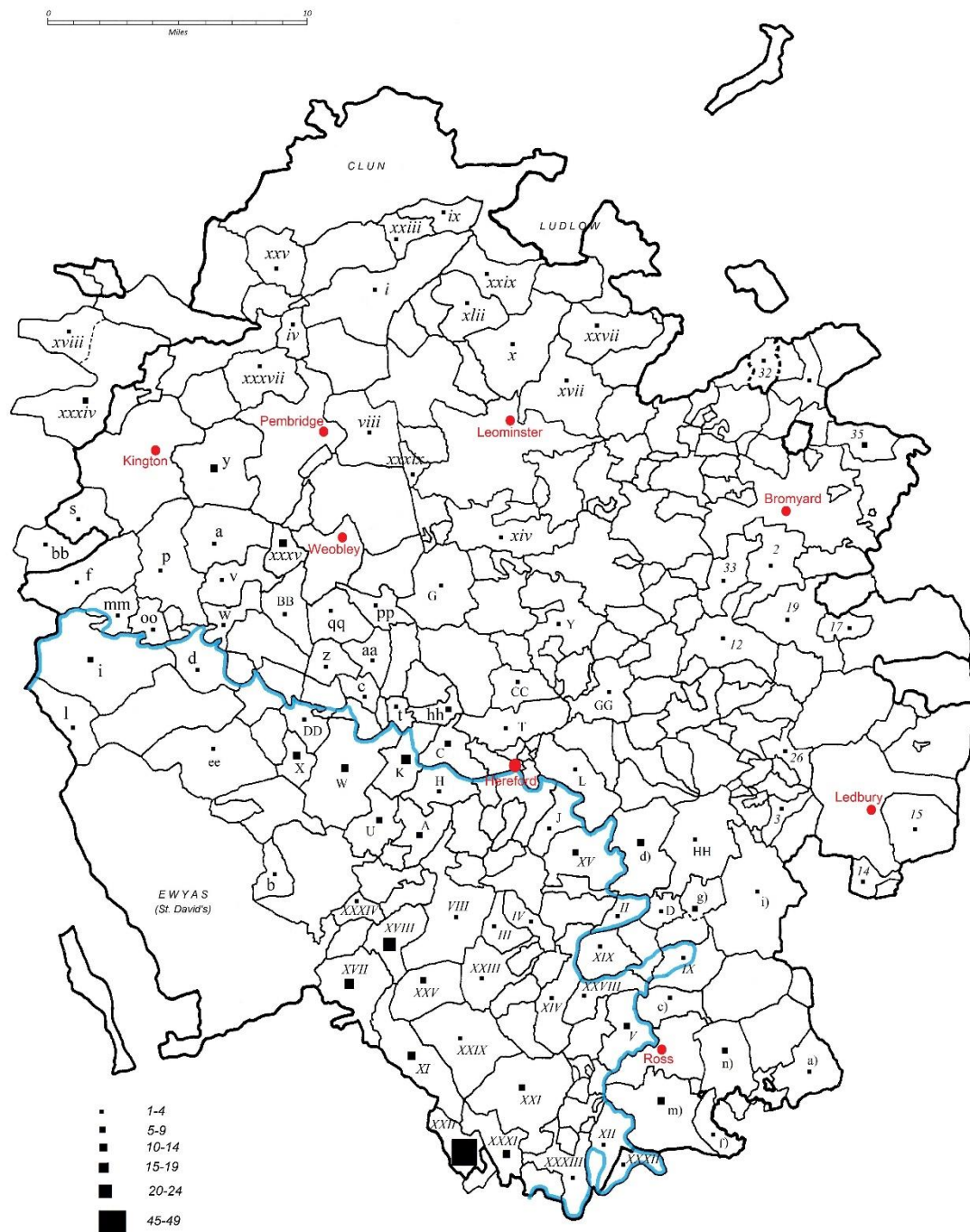
**ROSS DEANERY**

a) Aston Ingham  
c) Brampton Abbots  
d) Fownhope  
g) How Caple with  
Sollers Hope  
h) Linton  
i) Much Marcle  
j) Mordiford  
l) Upton Bishop  
m) Walford  
n) Weston under  
Penyard

**WESTON  
DEANERY**

1) Bodenham  
4) Dilwyn  
6) Kings Pyon  
7) Lugwardine  
8) Stoke Edith with  
Westhide  
9) Sutton St Michael  
10) Sutton St Nicholas  
12) Wellington  
14) Weston Beggard

## MAP XIX: Presentment of non-gentry Catholics in 1614



*Presentments of non-gentry  
in rural parishes in 1614*



**KEY TO MAP Presentments of  
non-gentry in the rural parishes  
1614**

**FROME DEANERY**

2 Avenbury  
3 Aylton  
12 Much Cowarne  
14 Donnington  
15 Eastnor  
17 Evesbatch  
19 Bishop's Frome  
26 Munsley  
32 Stoke Bliss  
33 Stoke Lacy  
35 Tedstone Delamere  
36 Tedstone Wafer  
40 Wolverlow

**LEOMINSTER DEANERY**

i Aymestry  
iv Byton  
viii Eardisland  
ix Elton  
x Eye  
xiv Hope under Dinmore  
xvii Kimbolton  
xxiii Leinthall Starks  
xxv Lingen  
xxvii Middleton  
xxix Orleton  
xxxvi Old Radnor  
xxxvii Sarnesfield  
xxxix Stanton on Arrow  
xli Stretford  
xliv Yarpole

**WEOBLEY DEANERY**

a Almeley  
b Bacton  
c Bishopstone  
d Bredwardine  
f Brilley  
i Clifford  
i Cusop  
p Eardisley  
s Huntington  
t Kenchester  
v Kinnersley  
w Letton  
y Lyonshall  
z Mansell Gamage  
aa Mansell Lacy  
bb Michaelchurch  
ee Peterchurch  
hh Stretton  
mm Whitney  
nn Winforten  
oo Wormsley  
qq Yazor

**HEREFORD DEANERY**

A Allensmore  
C Breinton  
D Brockhampton  
G Canon Pyon  
H Clehonger  
J Dinedor  
K Eaton Bishop  
L Hampton Bishop  
T Holmer  
U Kingstone  
W Madley  
X Tibberton  
Y Marden  
BB Norton Canon  
CC Pipe and Lyde  
DD Preston on Wye  
GG Withington  
HH Woolhope

**ARCHENFIELD DEANERY**

II Ballingham  
III Much Birch  
IV Little Birch  
V Bridstow  
VIII Much Dewchurch  
IX Foy  
XI Garway  
XII Goodrich  
XIV Hentland  
XV Holm Lacy  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XIX King's Caple  
XXI Llangarren  
XXII Llanrothal  
XXIII Llanwarne  
XXV Orcop  
XXVIII Sellack  
XXIX St Weonards  
XXXI Welsh Newton  
XXXII Welsh Bicknor  
XXXIII Whitchurch  
XXXIV Wormbridge

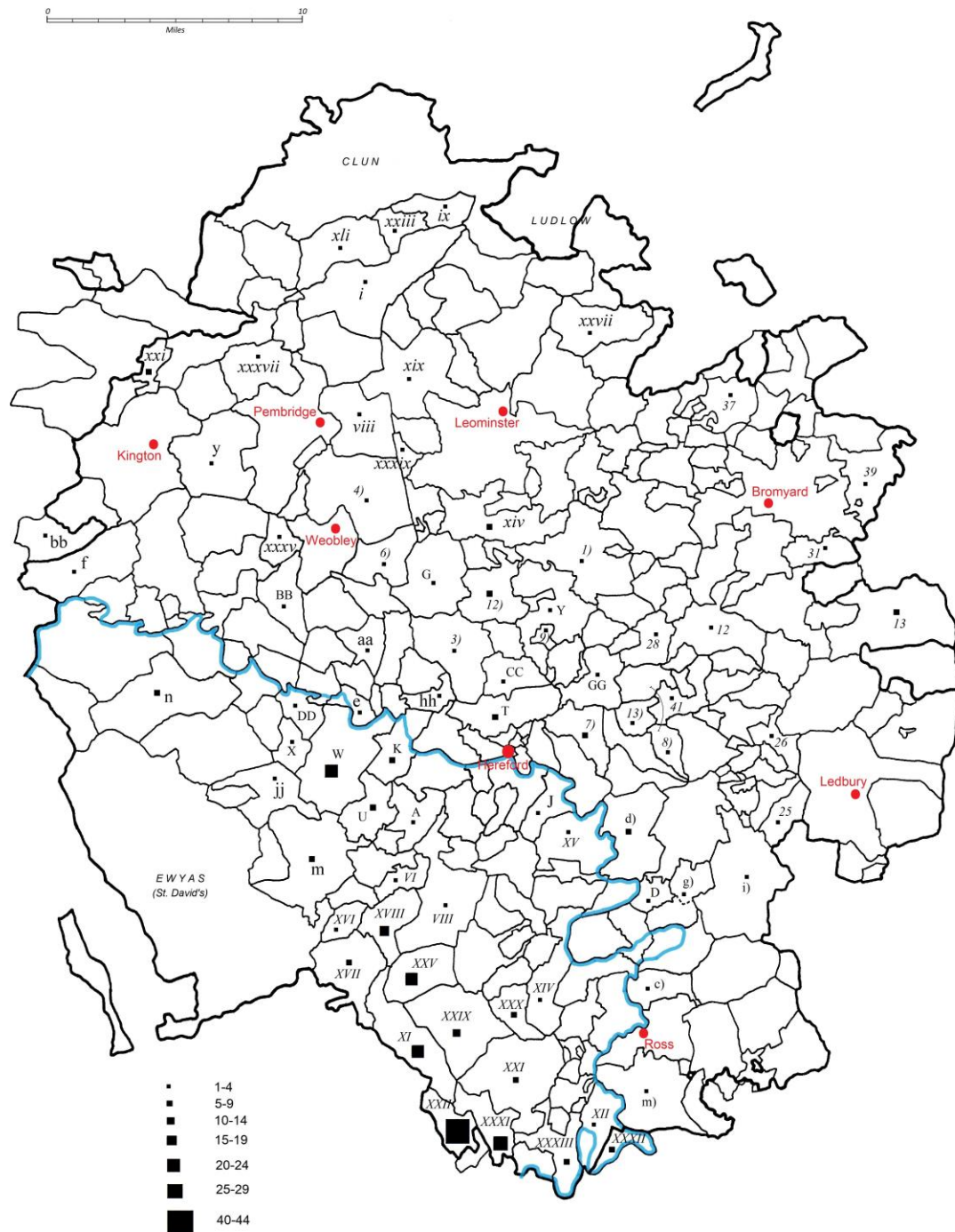
**ROSS DEANERY**

a) Aston Ingham  
c) Brampton Abbots  
d) Fownhope  
f) Hope Mansel  
g) How Caple with Sollershope  
i) Much Marcle  
m) Walford  
n) Weston under Penyard

**WESTON DEANERY**

1) Bodenham  
3) Burghill  
4) Dilwyn  
7) Lugwardine  
8) Stoke Edith with Westhide  
9) Sutton St Michael  
10) Sutton St Nicholas  
12) Wellington  
14) Weston Beggard

## MAP XX: Presentment of non-gentry Catholics in 1625



*Presentments of non-gentry  
in rural parishes in 1625*

**KEY TO MAP Presentments of  
non-gentry in rural parishes  
1625**

**FROME DEANERY**

12 Much Cowarne  
13 Cradley  
25 Little Marcle  
26 Munsley  
28 Ocle Pichard  
31 Bishop Stanford  
37 Thornbury  
39 Whitborne  
41 Yarkhill

**LEOMINSTER DEANERY**

i Aymestry  
viii Eardisland  
ix Elton  
xiv Hope under Dinmore  
xix Kingsland  
xxi Knill  
xxiii Leinthall Starks  
xxvii Middleton  
xxxv Sarnesfield  
xxxvii Staunton on Arrow  
xxxix Stretford  
xli Wigmore

**WEOBLEY DEANERY**

e Bridge Sollers  
f Brilley  
m Abbey Dore  
n Dorstone  
y Lyonshall  
aa Mansell Lacy  
bb Michaelchurch  
hh Stretton  
jj Vowchurch

**HEREFORD DEANERY**

A Allensmore  
D Brockhampton  
G Canon Pyon  
J Dinedor  
K Eaton Bishop  
T Holmer  
U Kingstone  
W Madley  
X Tibberton  
Y Marden  
BB Norton Canon  
CC Pipe and Lyde  
DD Preston on Wye  
GG Withington

**ARCHENFIELD DEANERY**

VI St Devereux  
VIII Much Dewchurch  
XI Garway  
XII Goodrich  
XIV Hentland  
XVI Kenderchurch  
XVII Kentchurch  
XVIII Kilpeck  
XXI Llangarren  
XXII Llanrothal  
XXV Orcop  
XXIX St Weonards  
XXX Tretire and Michaelchurch  
XXXI Welsh Newton  
XXXII Welsh Bicknor  
XXXIII Whitchurch

**ROSS DEANERY**

c) Brampton Abbots  
d) Fownhope  
g) How Caple with Sollershope  
i) Much Marcle  
m) Walford

**WESTON DEANERY**

1) Bodenham  
3) Burghill  
4) Dilwyn  
6) Kings Pyon  
7) Lugwardine  
8) Stoke Edith with Westhide  
9) Sutton St Michael  
11) Tarrington  
12) Wellington  
13) Weston Begard